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PALIO AND PONTE

Madonna und Child

by Benvenuto di Giovanni

PALIO AND PONTE

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SPORTS OF CENTRAL ITALY FROM THE AGE OF DANTE TO THE XX[TH] CENTURY

BY

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WITH TWENTY-SEVEN ILLUSTRATIONS

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TO

R. LANGTON DOUGLAS

WHO ALONE AMONG ENGLISH WRITERS HAS PROVED HIMSELF EQUALLY MASTER OF BOTH THE POLITICAL AND ARTISTIC HISTORY OF THE FAIREST OF TUSCAN CITIES

THIS WORK IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

SOME years ago, I wrote a short account of the annual Sienese horse-races under the title of *Our Lady of August and the Palio of Siena.* That work, which was published and sold almost exclusively in Siena, met with so favourable a reception at the hands of the public and of authoritative Italian reviewers, that I might not unreasonably flatter myself that a second edition is needed. I have, however, preferred to re-write the entire book, and that for two reasons: the first, that there is much to omit; the second, that there is more to add.

Thus, the publication of Professor Langton Douglas' learned volume has enabled me to dispense with a large amount of matter which was only indirectly connected with my subject, and only necessary because no English *History of Siena* had, as yet, been written; while, on the other hand, further study and research have taught me that I took too narrow a view of the Palio when I regarded it merely as a Sienese institution. A Sienese institution it is; but it is something more. It is the last survivor of those old chivalric games which were played on all the piazze of Tuscany in the Middle Ages; and it can no more be understood, if viewed alone, than the history of any one Italian Commune can be understood, if divorced from the history of its neighbours.

In the present work, I have treated of many Palii besides

the Palio of Siena, as well as of many kindred games—notably those of Florence, Pisa and Perugia. I have, in fact, endeavoured to trace the history of athletic sport in Central Italy from the days of Dante to the present year of grace 1904.

W. H.

VILLA VENTENA, SIENA, *July* 1904.

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PALIO AND PONTE

INTRODUCTORY

Hic est locus, Campus celeberrimus hic est,
Illud grande forum, Romani more theatri,
Quo fiunt Ludi varji; et celebrantur honores
Virginis et curru Tauri cervique trahuntur
Viscera, et armatus sonipes, pro munere, certat.
VITTORIO CAMPANICENSE, *De ludo pugnæ.*

AT the junction of the three hills whereupon Siena *torreggia e siede*, in the very centre of the city, stands the many-memoried PIAZZA DEL CAMPO.* The same site was probably occupied by the vanished forum of the Roman Colony; and here, peradventure, it was that the old *Senensium plebes*, as fierce, intractable and tumultuous as their mediæval descendants, laid violent hands upon the senator Manlius Patruitus.

Here, after the taking of Grosseto, on the day of St Mary of August, in the year of grace 1224, "the Sienese, for joy of that victory, held high festival and lighted bonfires and closed the shops"; while before one of those same shops, on another gala-day, nearly a century later, Dante Alighieri stood, so absorbed in the study of an ancient codex that he read on undisturbed in spite of a great tournament that was going on and the mighty din of those who were round about.

Here, four days after the battle of Montaperti, the men of Montalcino made submission before the victorious *carroccio*, "and were reconciled and accepted as subjects of the Magnificent Commune of Siena." Here Provenzano Salvani humbly begged alms of his fellow-citizens

. . . per trar l'amico suo di pena.

Here, in later times, the *barattieri* set up their booths, walled with branches and roofed with canvas, wherein the good citizens of Siena might lawfully play *ad ludum zardi*; and here the candidates for knighthood erected their pavilions, and feasted all who came, giving and receiving gifts. Moreover, down to 1884—in which year the *mercato nuovo* was built where of old the criminals of the Republic were mutilated and put to death—the daily market was held in the Piazza, the positions to be occupied by the vendors of the different wares being fixed by statute as early as the 14th century.

Nor has the Campo lacked its scenes of carnage and of tumult. Again and again have its stones been crimsoned with blood and blackened by fire; and, little more than a century ago, its beautiful old palaces looked down, calm and unmoved,—pray God for the last time,—upon such a scene of ferocity and suffering as can never have been surpassed throughout all the "splendid, stupid, glorious" Middle Ages. For here, on Friday, 28th July 1799, in the name of the Blessed Virgin of Comfort and to the cry of *Viva Maria!* a howling mob of fanatics, drunk with wine and slaughter, burned in one vast fire nineteen Jews, men and women together, using for the purpose the fragments of the Tree of Liberty, which had been set up before the Fonte Gaia, little more than three months earlier.

In a word, the history of its Piazza is the history of Siena.

That with which we are at present concerned is, however, the *Palio*; and, for us, the Piazza is chiefly interesting in view of that fact, since it is here that the Palio is run twice yearly, on the 2nd July and the 16th August.

And what manner of thing is this Palio?

Most of the Guide Books describe it as a horse-race. So it is in a sense; but such a definition, although perhaps verbally correct, is eminently calculated to mislead, and certainly implies, in one direction more, and in another less, than the truth. In fact, a single glance at the spot selected for the contest will show that, if indeed the Palio be a horse-race, it must of necessity be a very strange one.

The Piazza consists of a semicircular area paved with brick and surrounded by a roadway composed of flagstones. The central or paved portion is shaped like a shallow cup, and has been not inaptly compared to the concave of a huge sea-shell; the ten converging lines of stone, which divide its superfices, indubitably bearing some resemblance to conchyliaceous striations. For our purpose, however, I conceive that it may best be likened to a colossal barber's basin, inclined at a considerable angle and flattened on the lower side. It is round the rim or margin of this basin—which, of course, corresponds to the roadway spoken of above—that the Palio is run.

No course more manifestly unfitted for the urging of high-mettled animals to their full speed could well be imagined; and its steep descent towards the Via di San Martino, with the dangerous turn in front of the Palazzo Piccolomini, have been responsible for many accidents. In August 1898 one horse was killed outright, and two were so seriously injured that they died shortly afterwards. It is, however, no part of the mission of the Palio of Siena to encourage the breeding of high-class stock, and what little emulation is displayed by the animals which take part in it is generally purely artificial.

Moreover, if we ignore, for the nonce, the peculiar unfitness of the Sienese Piazza to be used as a race-course, we shall find a further anomaly in the fact that the Palio has a distinctly religious character; the banner which is given to the winning *contrada* being invariably ornamented with a representation of the Blessed Virgin, in whose honour the race is run. Indeed, throughout the Middle Ages, the organization of a palio, a tournament, or a bull-fight seems to have become so usual a method of paying honour to the celestial powers, that, when it was resolved, in 1526, to hold a more than ordinarily solemn festival of thanksgiving, it was felt necessary to declare that it was not intended to be a feast day "of bulls, or other games devoid of evil, but of spiritual things, such as confessions, communions and the like."[1]

[1] *Delib. di Balia, ad annum*, nº. 110, c. 61–63, published by A. Toti, in his *Atti di Votazione della Città di Siena e del Senese alla SS. Vergine madre di G. C.* (Siena, 1870),

Then, too, the horses which take part in the Palio are distributed by lot, and the contest is quite as much a battle as a race. The riders seek to dismount one another, and are armed with helmets to protect their eyes and faces from the rain of blows which will be showered upon them. All that civic patriotism and religious fervour can do to stir men's minds to furious rivalry finds vent in these annual struggles, where each competitor represents not a single individual, but a whole *Contrada* or ward of the city.

Facts such as these put us upon enquiry, and may well lead us to suspect that not only is the Palio something more than a "horse-race," but that it may, perhaps, even possess other and more enduring features of interest than those which are suggested to our minds by the statement of the excellent Baedeker, that it "presents a very attractive scene."[1] What it really is, it is the object of the following pages to explain. The subject is a wide one, and I warn the reader that, in order to obtain a clear understanding of the origin and meaning of this strange mediæval custom, which has been handed down to us across the ages, it will be necessary to follow many and devious ways, some of which, at first sight, may seem to have no connection with our goal, but all of which will, I think, be found to converge at last towards a common centre—the PALIO OF SIENA.

Thus, after a preliminary chapter, dealing with the Palio of the Mediæval Communes in its more general aspects, I shall treat of Siena as "the Virgin's City," speaking of the various dedications of the Commune to the Queen of Heaven. Next, I shall describe the great annual festival of Mid-August, celebrated in memory of Our Lady's Assumption, when, from the 13th century onwards, a horse-race was run in her honour. Thereafter I shall touch, but more briefly,

Votazione iv. p. 40. In *La Città diletta di Maria*, GIROLAMO GIGLI says: "Debbesi riferire a conto di tributo verso Maria la festa del Corso del Palio in Piazza nel giorno della sua Visitazione;" while, a few pages earlier, he attributes the "frequenti castighi del Cielo, o di carestie, o di spopolazioni, o di altre rovine" to the fact that the Festival of the Assumption was, in his day, no longer honoured as of old. In this connection he mentions "quelle magnifiche rappresentazioni di quei pubblici insigni spettacoli, che ad onore della gran Signora si preparavano nella piazza del Campo; ciò erano Bufalate, Cacce del Toro e simili."

[1] See BAEDEKER'S *Central Italy* (edition of 1893), p. 22.

upon the Palii of the Blessed Ambrogio Sansedoni and of S. Pietro Alessandrino; thus, I trust, sufficiently accounting for the religious character of the modern contest.

With regard to its material features, we shall, however, find that we have followed a blind trail, and it will be necessary to retrace our steps and to study the ancient Sienese pastimes which filled the Campo with clamour from the earliest days of the Republic. With a view to illustrating these, I shall be compelled to touch upon the games of neighbouring cities — the *Giuoco del Ponte* of Pisa, the *Battaglia de' Sassi* of Perugia, and the *Calcio* of Florence. For, just as the history of one of the Communes of Central Italy is, in its main outlines, the history of them all, so the popular games of the free cities sprang from one common source, and developed, for over two hundred years, on parallel lines. Nor shall we, I think, be greatly mistaken if we conclude that the Palio of to-day has drawn much of its fierce inspiration from the old *Giuoco del Mazzascudo*, which, in the 13th and 14th centuries, was played on almost all the principal piazze of Tuscany.

Then, returning to Siena, I shall speak of the *Elmora*, the local form of *Mazzascudo*, and of the *Pugna* which usurped its place. I shall show how, with the rise of the *contrade*, at the close of the 15th century, these were gradually abandoned for *Bufalate*, *Asinate* and Bull-fights, until at last, they, in their turn, dwindled down to the modern Palio—half battle, half horse-race.

BOOK I

THE PALIO ALLA LUNGA

CHAPTER THE FIRST

THE PALIO OF THE MEDIÆVAL COMMUNES

THE Italian *palio* is a corruption of the Latin *pallium*; and it will perhaps help us to a better understanding of the various meanings of the word, if we recall the fact that the English *cloak*, which is generally adopted as the translation of *pallium*, conveys a very imperfect idea of the form, material and use of the ancient Roman garment. With the making of the *pallium* the tailor had nothing to do; it was worn in the very form in which it came from the loom, and was, in fact, simply a rectangular piece of cloth.[1] Such, too, was the Italian *palio*, a rectangular piece of stuff, whether of wool, silk or velvet. All the other meanings are secondary to this.

Thus the square canopy or "baudekin,"[2] which was held over the heads of princes and potentates to do them honour, was called a *palio* from its shape and from the material of which it was made.[3] In like manner, the rich stuffs which in the Middle Ages were offered by subject towns and seigniors to the patron saint of the city to which they owed fealty, were called *palii*; and perhaps, because these were

[1] See SMITH'S *Dictionary of Antiquities*.

[2] "Baudekin," or "baldacchino," is from Baldacco, the Italian form of the mediæval name of Babylon, from whence the costly silk of this canopy originally came—*pannus sericus babylonicus*.—See TRENCH, *On the Study of Words* (London, Macmillan & Co., 1878), p. 153.

[3] Thus M. VILLANI (*Cronica*, iii. 84) tells us how, in 1353, the Cardinal legate was received in Florence "con grande onore, e con solenne processione e festa, con ricco palio di seta e d'oro sopra capo portato da nobili popolani," etc. Compare iv. 44, and the contemporary chronicles *passim*.

often borne aloft on lances, like banners, "in sign of subjection,"[1] the word *palio* itself came to mean a flag or banner.[2] The prizes which were offered for the mediæval horse-races usually consisted of divers yards of silk or woollen stuff, and were consequently known as *palii* (Lat. *bravia*). At first, probably, men spoke of "running to win the palio—*correre per vincere il palio*," later on of "running the palio—*correre il palio*," or "*correre al palio*." So that the word *palio* came to signify not only the prize, but the contest for that prize, the race itself. Occasionally, indeed, the word is used to describe both the one and the other at the same time, as where Giovanni Villani tells us that it was ordained *che si corresse uno palio di sciamito*.[3]

These races, or palii, seem to have originated in the 13th century;[4] and probably the most famous of them all was the Palio of St John the Baptist of Florence, to which Dante refers in the sixteenth canto of the *Paradiso*, where he makes Cacciaguida say:

> Gli antichi miei ed io nacqui nel loco,
> Dove si trova pria l'ultimo sesto
> Da quel che corre il vostro annual giuoco.

This Benvenuto da Imola explains as follows:—*Est de more Florentiæ, quod singulis annis in festo Johannis Baptistæ currant equi ad bravium in signum festivæ lætitiæ . . . Currentes, ad bravium transibant ante domos Helisæorum in principio ultimi sexterii et prope Mercatum vetus, qui est locus mercatorum antiquus et famosus Florentiæ.* Thus we see that the race was run from San Pancrazio, the western ward of the city, through the Mercato Vecchio, to the eastern ward of San Piero.

[1] Montepulciano, for example, when she submitted to Perugia, in 1355, promised *quolibet anno in festo beati Hercolani de mane presentare . . . unum pallium de velluto sirici rubey valoris saltem xxv flor. auri, equester et publice distensum in quadam aste in signum subjectionis, etc.*—*Cronaca del Graziani*, in the "Arch. stor. it.," tom. xv. parte i. p. 181 nota.

[2] Thus a Florentine annalist of the 14th century speaks of the Banner of the Guelfs as *il paglio della Parte Guelfa* (*Diario d'Anonimo fiorentino*, in the *Documenti di Storia Italiana*, published by the Royal Commission for Tuscany, Umbria and the Marches, vol. vi. p. 298.

[3] G. VILLANI, *Cronica*, i. 60.

[4] "Truovasi usata nel Secolo XIII. la Corsa de i Cavalli: se prima, altri lo cercherà."—MURATORI, *Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane* (Milano, 1751), tom. ii. p. 27.

PALIO AND PONTE

In his celebrated description of the "gran festa di San Giovanni Batista, che al mondo non si ha paraggio," Goro di Stagio Dati gives the following account of this palio :—

"Thereafter, dinner being over, and midday being past, and the folk having rested awhile, according to the pleasure of each of them; all the women and girls betake themselves whither the horses which run the palio will pass. Now these pass through a straight street, through the midst of the City, where are many dwellings, beautiful sumptuous houses of good citizens, more than in any other part thereof. And from one end of the City to the other, on that straight street, which is full of flowers, are all the women and all the jewels and rich adornments of the City; and it is a great holiday. Also there are always many lords and knights and foreign gentlemen who come every year from the surrounding towns to see the beauty and magnificence of that festival. And there, through the said Corso, are so many folk that it seemeth a thing incredible, the like whereof he who hath not seen it could neither believe nor imagine.

"Thereafter, the great bell of the Palagio de' Signori is tolled three times, and the horses, ready for the start, come forth to run. On high, upon the Tower, may be seen, by the signs made by the boys who are up there, that is of such an one, and that of such an one (*quello è del tale, e quello è del tale*). And all the most excellent race-horses of the world are there, gathered together from all the borders of Italy. And that one which is the first to reach the Palio is the one which winneth it. Now the Palio is borne aloft upon a triumphal car, with four wheels, adorned with four carven lions which seem alive, one upon every side of the car, drawn by two horses, with housings with the emblem of the Commune thereon, and ridden by two varlets which guide them. The same is a passing rich and great Palio of fine crimson velvet in two palii, and between the one and the other a band of fine gold a palm's width, lined with fur from the belly of the ermine and bordered with miniver fringed with silk and fine gold; which, in all, costeth three hundred florins or more; but, of

late, for a space, it hath been made entirely of brocade of gold, very beautiful to see; whereon are spent six hundred florins or more. All the great piazza of San Giovanni, and part of the street, is covered with blue hangings with yellow lilies; the church is a thing of marvellous form, whereof I shall speak at another time, when I shall describe the beauties of that City. . . ."

That time, alas! never came. Dati finished his history, and died in September 1435, without returning to the subject.[1]

Besides the Palio of St John the Baptist, which was celebrated on the 24th of June, the Florentines ran other horse-races, on other anniversaries.

Thus the battle of Campaldino, which was fought on the 11th June 1289, the same being the Feast of St Barnabas, was commemorated by a palio run on that day in honour of the Apostle. A curious record of the race is still to be found in the name *Ponte alle Mosse*, borne by the bridge over the Mugnone; from which the start was made. Another palio was run on St Peter's day, the 29th June. On the 26th July was the Palio of St Anne, instituted in memory of the expulsion of the Duke of Athens, in 1343. The day of St Victor was honoured in like manner, to celebrate the rout of the Pisans at the Borgo di Cascina, on July 28th, 1364;[2] while, in 1353, it was ordained by the Priors that, on the festival of the Blessed Virgin Santa Reparata, a palio should be run for 12 braccia of fine scarlet cloth.

Probably, however, the most curious of all the Florentine palii was that known as the *Palio de' Tintori*,[3] which was run in honour of Sant' Onofrio (or, as the lower classes

[1] The *Storia di Firenze* of GORO DI STAGIO DATI was published in Florence in 1735 by G. Bianchini. The description of the festival of St John the Baptist will be found on pages 84–89. It has, however, frequently been quoted *in extenso* in more modern works, and may be read, for example, in D'ANCONA e BACCI, *Manuale delle Lett. Italiana* (Firenze, Barbèra, 1899), vol. ii. pp. 125–128; and in C. GUASTI, *Le Feste di S. Giovanni Batista* (Firenze, Loescher e Bocca, 1884), pp. 4–8.

[2] FILIPPO VILLANI, in his continuation of his father's *Chronicle* (xi. 97), states that this battle was fought on the 29th July. He, however, corrects himself in cap. 99, where he tells us that it took place on the day of St Victor, which, of course, falls on the 28th.—Compare the *Diario d'Anonimo Fiorentino*, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

[3] See G. CONTI, *Fatti e Aneddoti di Storia Fiorentina* (Firenze, Bemporad, 1902), cap. iii., "Il palio dell' Università dei Tintori e altre corse di barberi," pp. 17–20.

called him, Santo Noferi), the patron saint of the Dyers' Guild. The length of the course — from the Palazzo degli Alberti to the Torre della Zecca — will give some indication of the quality of the animals which took part in the race—old and worn-out, and only fit for the knacker's yard.

Every wool-dyer kept a horse to carry the newly-dyed cloth to be rinsed in the Arno, and thence to the *tiratoi*, where it was hung and stretched. These horses were ridden by boys, who generally sat or stood on the top of the piles of cloth with which their charges were laden, and who, from their employment, acquired the name of *cavallini*. This was the first step in the dyeing trade, and every "maestro" of the Università de' Tintori had begun his career as a *cavallino*.

On the first Sunday after the 11th June, the Dyers kept holiday in the Church of their Arte, in the "Borgo de' Tintori and at Sant' Onofrio" in the Piazza dell' Uccello. This festa seems to have been instituted in 1331, when "the artificers of Florence, to wit those of the Compagnia di Santo Noferi, clad five hundred and twenty men all in white, who held high festival through the city; and, on the day of Santo Noferi, the 15th June, they caused a white palio to be run; and therefrom the said palio had its origin." Thenceforward, it became an annual event, and, as a result, the Borgo de' Tintori changed its name to the "Corso de' Tintori." The race itself was nothing better than a brutal burlesque. The wretched animals which took part in it scarcely staggered along under showers of blows, jeers, abuse, and insults of every sort. Infinite were the witticisms, the practical jokes, the *doubles entendres*, the gesticulations and the laughter, of the ever sceptical and lively Florentine populace, who, no doubt, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. Even to-day, animal suffering appeals but little to the Italian.

This palio, which in its first year was white, was subsequently made of scarlet cloth, at the expense of the "maestri" of the Arte.

And here we may remark that red, in all its shades—

rosso, rosato, chermisi, vermiglio, scarlatto—seems to have been the usual colour for a palio. For red and green, and especially the former, the mediæval Italians showed a marked predilection.[1] In the 13th century, the Florentines had already acquired considerable skill in dyeing cloth red.[2] The official robes of the magistrates were red; their *carroccio* was one blaze of red; red was the body of the car, red the *antenne*, and red the housings of the oxen which drew it. The women frequently wore red dresses. When Dante first beheld his Beatrice, she was attired in a garment of most noble colour, a subdued and goodly crimson; and when Ribi, the buffoon, asked the wife of Messer Amerigo Donati for *un poco di scarlatto* to piece his tunic with, she found it for him immediately.[3]

Nor was the preference for red confined to any one city. The oxen which drew the *carroccio* of Pavia were covered *cum rubro panno*, those of Parma with *purpura et zendali*.[4] The Sienese magistrates, like those of the Florentines, wore red robes;[5] and the *banditores*, or heralds of the Commune, were clad *de panno viridi vel rubeo*;[6] while, in 1232, Bishop Buonfiglio was obliged to forbid his clergy to dress in red or green, enacting *quod nullus clericus portet vestimentum de viridi panno vel rubro*.[7] In 1268, Corradino offered a purple palio (*quadam purpura*) on the altar of Our Lady of Grace, in the Sienese Cathedral.[8] It would be easy to multiply examples; but these should suffice.

Besides the Palio of St John the Baptist, at Florence,

[1] See L. ZDEKAUER, *La vita privata dei Senesi nel dugento* (Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1896), p. 45.

[2] P. VILLARI, *I primi due secoli della storia di Firenze* (Firenze, Sansoni, 1898), vol. i. p. 281.

[3] F. SACCHETTI, *Nov.* 50.

[4] MURATORI, *Ant. Ital. medii ævi.*, Diss. xxvi.

[5] C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, *Costumi Senesi nella seconda metà del Secolo XIV.* (Siena, Tip. dell' Ancora, 1881), p. 122.

[6] *Constituto del C. di Siena dell' Anno 1262*, pubblicato da L. ZDEKAUER (Milano, Hoepli, 1897), Dist. i. Rubr. 296.

[7] See the "Constitutions" of Bp. Buonfiglio, in PECCI, *Storia del Vescovado della Città di Siena* (Lucca, 1748), p. 209.

[8] See A. PROFESSIONE, *Corradino di Svevia e il suo passaggio per Siena* (Verona, Fratelli, Drucker, 1892), p. 19.

another palio is referred to in the *Divina Commedia*, that of Verona, which was run for the *drappo verde*.[1]

> Poi si rivolse, e parve di coloro
> Che corrono a Verona il drappo verde
> Per la campagna; e parve di costoro
> Quegli che vince e non colui che perde.[2]

On the first Sunday in Lent, it was the duty of the Potestà of Verona "to place or cause to be placed, for the Commune of Verona, two palii, in such place as might seem to him most suitable"—"*ponere seu poni facere pro communi Verone duo bravia in loco ubi utilius ei videbitur.*" One of these was of scarlet, the other of green cloth. The first was destined as the prize for a horse-race; the second for a foot-race. Both contests took place outside the city, *per la campagna*; and he who was last in the foot-race was presented with a cock, *quem palam portare debeat usque in civitatem*, thus advertising the unenviable result of his exertions for the amusement of the spectators—a fact which gives added force to the words, *e non colui che perde.* Later on, at the end of the 14th century, Gian Galeazzo Visconti introduced a third race, for women—*per mulieres et pedester.*[3]

Thus we perceive that a foot-race, equally with a horse-race, might be a palio. So, for that matter, might a donkey-race, a buffalo-race, a chariot-race or a boat-race. Enough that the prize contended for was a palio.

Among the most picturesque of those mediæval festivals which were connected with the running of the palio, was the *Festa dell' Assunta* of Pisa.[4] In the *Annali pisani* of Paolo

[1] *il drappo verde* is, not very happily, translated by Longfellow, "the Green Mantle." That, however, was over thirty-five years ago, and, as is clear from his note on *Paradiso*, xvi. 42, he did not feel himself upon very firm ground when treating of the *Palio*. Much has been written since then, and Mrs. Wiel can plead no excuse for falling into the same error. That she is profoundly ignorant of the whole subject seems clear, or she would never have spoken of "the game of the Palio"!—See *The Story of Verona*, by ALETHEA WIEL (London, Dent, 1902), pp. 130, 263.

[2] *Inferno*, xv. 121–124.

[3] See herein GAETANO DA RE, *I tre primi statuti sulle corse de' Palii di Verona*, in the "Rivista critica della letteratura italiana," vii. 80–87.

[4] For full details of this festival the reader should consult the learned monograph of Cav. Prof. PIETRO VIGO, *Una festa popolare a Pisa nel medio evo*, Pisa, Tip. Mariotti, 1888. The work contains an invaluable appendix of documents.

Tronci,[1] we read that, on the 15th July, a month before the date of the festa, twenty youths, clad in rich raiment, and mounted on horses covered with scarlet housings emblazoned with the arms of the Commune, rode through the city, accompanied by trumpeters with silver trumpets, by fifers and by other musicians, proclaiming the approach of the festival, and announcing to the citizens the palii which were to be contested on land and water. The horsemen who formed the cavalcade rode two and two. Of the first couple, one bore the banner of the Commune, the other that of the People. The next two held silver staves inwrought with gold and surmounted by Imperial Eagles; while the third pair carried, upon their wrists, live eagles, crowned with golden crowns.[2]

On the 1st August, three banners were set on each of the innumerable towers of the city[3]—one painted with the

[1] *Ad annum* 1292.

[2] The original arms of Pisa seem to have been identical with those of the modern city, a White Cross upon a red ground; this device, if we may believe the chroniclers, having been assumed in 1017, when the galleys of the Commune sailed against the Saracens of Sardinia, at the bidding of Pope Boniface VIII. (See the *Cronaca pisana di* RANIERI SARDO, in the "Arch. stor. it.," tom. vi. parte ii. p. 76.) In the following century, however, the Imperial Eagle was adopted as the emblem of the Commune. Early in the 13th century, the Pisan arms were a Black Eagle upon a gold field; while, a little later, the same bird appears perched upon two columns rising out of the sea, with the motto: VRBIS ME DIGNVM PISANE NOSCITE SIGNVM. (See *Le Armi dei Municipi Toscani illustrate dal* Cav. L. PASSERINI (Firenze, Tip. Ducci, 1864), p. 208.) FAZIO DEGLI UBERTI, who wrote in the following century, speaks of Pisa, in his *Dittamondo* (iii. 6), as

> . . . la bella città, che ha per insegna
> L'arma romana.

Just as the Sienese kept a tame wolf, and the Florentines lions, the living counterparts of their *Marzocco*, so the Pisans kept eagles. To this custom we find an allusion in *Inferno*, xxxiii. 22, where Count Ugolino calls the tower, in which he was imprisoned, "*la muda*—the Mew," presumably "because it was there that the eagles of the Commune were kept to moult." In 1364, after the victory of Borgo di Cascina, the Florentines advanced to the walls of Pisa, and one of these eagles made its escape and flew into their camp, where it was killed. In his *Guerra di Pisa*, ANTONIO PUCCI thus records the incident:

> . . . un' aquila, di Pisa, tutta nera
> Dimestica, per fare altrui vergogna,
> Uscì volando; ma cred' io ch' ell' era
> Venuta a pascer di quella carogna;
> La qual da' Guelfi fu presa con furia.
> So ch' a' Pisan non parve buona aguria.

[3] TRONCI, *loc. cit.*, says sixteen thousand; and the same number is given by NAVARRETTI, in his *Memorie pisane*, MS. in the R. Archivio di Stato in Pisa, vol. iii. c. 155. The Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Pisa in the second half of the 12th century, calls it: *civitas maxima decies mille turribus instructa, quibus in ædibus extructis, orto disidio, ad mutua bella utuntur.* (Cited by P. VIGO, *op. cit.*, p. 6, note.)

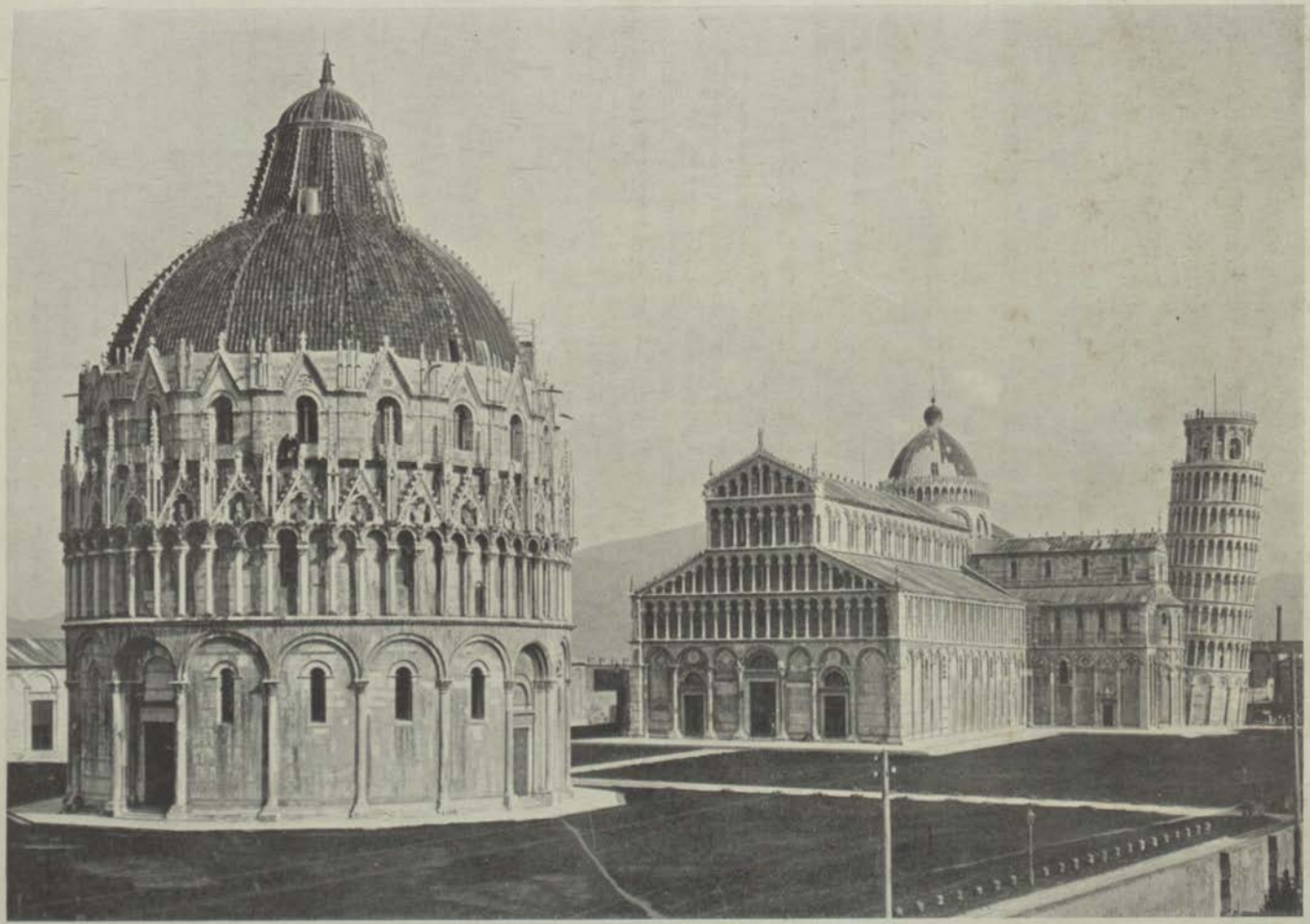
Eagle; the second with the arms of the Commune, the White Cross upon a red ground; the third with those of the People. In like manner, three banners waved over the façade, sides and cupola of the Duomo, over the Baptistery, and over the Camposanto. Not only the summit of the Campanile, but each of its six colonnades were decked with banners. In like manner, all the churches, all the public buildings, the palaces of the Consoli del Mare, of the Consoli de' Mercanti, of the Sette Arti, and of all the other Magistrates, were ornamented with flags. The Contado followed the example of the City.

Judging from contemporary documents, Professor Vigo is inclined to believe that the Cathedral must have been practically covered with flags; the staffs of which were painted saffron and red, at the expense of the Operaio del Duomo; while certain great banners, bearing the arms of the Commune, of the Potestà or of the Captain of the People, were fastened to poles made from the trunks of very lofty chestnut trees, and set upon the Campanile and the cupola of the Duomo. In 1380, a banner which waved above the latter bore the arms of Pietro Gambacorti, then Captain of the People in Pisa.

With regard to the proclamation which, according to our annalist, was made on the 15th July, we have no corroborative evidence. What is certain is that, both on the Vigil of the Assumption and on the day of the festa itself, the public heralds went through the city, accompanied by trumpeters and other musicians, who were provided by the Commune with new red liveries—*cum indumentis novis vermileis.* It would, however, be dangerous to affirm that this was the first announcement of the festival; and Tronci may have had access to sources of information with which we are unacquainted.[1]

Of the offerings of wax candles made by all the Magistrates, citizens, arti and military companies of the city, and by all the subject towns and villages;[2] of the great silver girdle, 1069 braccia in length, wherewith to the sound of

[1] P. VIGO, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9.
[2] *Ibi lem*, pp. 9-27, and Doc. xi.



VIEW OF THE BAPTISTRY, CATHEDRAL AND LEANING TOWER, PISA

music, the Duomo was encircled;[1] of the liberation of the twenty prisoners selected by the *sapientes de misericordia*;[2] of the processions and other religious ceremonies; of the vast crowds which flocked to the city on this most solemn festival;[3] I shall not speak. Enough for us that, among the other celebrations whereby the Pisans sought to do honour to Our Lady, were included palii, both on land and water.

The prizes for these races were of a sufficiently heterogeneous character, consisting, besides the palii, of various animals, such as an ox, a ram, a cock, a goose, and a pig; some of which, at any rate, appear to have been draped with red cloth. Thus we read of money being expended *in pretium tunice bovis*, and *pro pretio panni vermilei empti . . . pro vestimentis dictorum bovis et montonis.*[4]

According to Tronci, "the most valuable prize for the land race was of red velvet, lined with vair, with a great eagle of silver. This the competitor received who first reached the goal. To the second was given silken stuff of the price of thirty golden florins. The third was presented, by way of ridicule, with a bunch of garlic and a pair of geese. On the water, the race was rowed in little galleys and boats; the vessel which arrived first at the winning post obtaining, as a prize, a bull covered with scarlet and fifty scudi. The second and third prizes were the same as in the land race."[5]

[1] P. TRONCI, *loc. cit.*—In an old document, this girdle is thus described: *cintulam unam magnam de argento deaurato cum figuris relevatis cum pietris et perlis super fecta vermilia cum fibialio de argento rotundo cum petra et perlis in quo est Incoronata ponderis librarum octo et unciarum quatuor.*—BONAINI, *Memorie inedite intorno la vita e i dipinti di Francesco Traini, etc.* (Pisa, Tip. Nistri, 1846), p. 47.

[2] P. VIGO, *op. cit.*, p. 32, and Doc. xxi.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 40.—Compare also F. SACCHETTI, *Nov.* 140, where we read that it was customary for the blind beggars of Florence to *andare alla festa della Nostra Donna a Pisa . . . ciascuno con un suo cane a mano ammaestrato, come fanno, con la scodella . . . cantando la* Intemerata *per ogni borgo.*

[4] P. VIGO, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37, and Doc. xvii.

[5] P. TRONCI, *loc. cit.* — From the documents published by Professor Vigo, it seems tolerably clear that there were three races—a horse-race and a foot-race on land; a rowing-race on the river. Thus we read of 170 lire paid, in August 1323, *pro pretio palii velosi et fregiorum ibi adplicatorum . . . per homines cum equis*; and of 40 lire paid *pro pretio duorum paliorum de sirico et auro . . . que curri fecerunt unum per aquam et alium per terram more solito.* As to the animals, the following entry would seem to imply that they were all used as prizes for the boat-race:

Feo Gualfrei tabernario pro pretio unius bovis, unius montonis et unius porci, unius

Such and such like prizes were by no means uncommon. For the horse-race at Verona (which was run on the same day as the foot-race for the *drappo verde* [1]) the prizes were *unum palium et una baffa; et prius currenti detur palium scarleti et ultimo currenti detur baffa, de qua licitum sit cuilibet incidere et tollere postquam currens habuerit ad collum equi ligatum.* That the prize for the last place was not without its attractions, in spite of the derision which accompanied it, may, perhaps, be inferred from the provision of the statute which prohibited the entry of any animal which was not sound in all its limbs—*non debeat quis currere cum aliqua equa nec eciam cum aliquo equo qui non sit integer omnibus suis membris.*[2]

At Ferrara, on St George's day, there was a horse-race *ad pallium et porchetam, et gallum*; while, by the ancient statutes of the same Commune, it was provided that "to the end that the citizens may obtain recreation on the festival of Saint Mary of August, it shall be the duty of the Potestà, for the time being, to enquire the pleasure of the members of the Consiglio Maggiore touching the running of a horse-race for a palio, on the said festival, to wit for a palfrey, a falcon and two hounds—*de faciendo equos currere ad Bravium . . . scilicet ad unum Runcinum, Ancipitrem et duos Bracos.*"[3]

Padua commemorated yearly the anniversary of her deliverance from the tyranny of the ferocious Ezzelino da Romano, with devout processions, and with a palio, for which the prizes were *duodecim brachia scharleti, et unus spariverius, cujus pretium non excedat summam soldorum sexaginta, et duæ chirothecæ*:[4] while at Bologna, the festivals of St Peter and St Bartholomew were celebrated by horse-races which were run, the one for a palio of red velvet and a live cock; the other for a richly caparisoned horse, a falcon and sometimes also a pair of hounds. The second prize was a sucking-pig.[5]

papari et unius galli quos curri fecerunt die festivitatis cum vachettis per Arnum more solito sine cabella, libras viginti octo et soldos quatuordecim denariorum pisanorum.

[1] See p. 12 *supra.*

[2] GAETANO DA RE, *I tre primi statuti sulle corse de' Palii di Verona, op. cit.*

[3] MURATORI, *Antiq. ital. med. ævi*, Diss. xxix. [4] *Ibidem.*

[5] L. FRATI, *La vita privata di Bologna dal secolo XIII al XVII* (Bologna, Zanichelli,

THE PALIO OF THE MEDIÆVAL COMMUNES

The century which witnessed the birth of the Palio was a century of strange contrasts. To those generations which had seen ferocious and implacable ecclesiastics, like the Innocents, seated on the papal throne; which had heard the second Frederick, albeit *di tutte virtudi copioso*,[1] proclaimed as Antichrist from a thousand pulpits; which more than half believed that "fierce Ezelin, that most inhuman lord,"[2] was, in very truth, a devil's son; which had beheld the Guelfs, despite the benedictions of the Church, again and again worsted by excommunicated and heretic Ghibellines; it might well have seemed that Italy had become a battle-ground for wild beasts; that all authority was dead, and that human wickedness had reached its utmost limit. The whole Peninsula was torn by factions and by wars; *sanguis italicus effunditur velut aqua.*[3]

In September 1259, Ezzelino passed away, fierce and impenitent to the last, tearing the bandages from his wounds, —as evil a man as the world has ever seen; but strong and virile; unenervated by love of women. Eleven months later, his brother Alberico was horribly tortured to death, after having been first compelled to witness the slaughter of all his house. His six sons were hewn to pieces before his eyes, and fragments of their yet quivering flesh were cast into his face; his wife, and all his daughters, "albeit they were noble, and the most beauteous maidens in the world, and innocent," were stripped stark naked and dragged through the Guelf camp, amidst the ribald jeers of a brutal soldiery; their breasts and noses were hacked off, and they were burned alive, while priests applauded the ferocious vengeance. Lastly, Alberico himself was slowly torn to pieces with pincers.[4] Nine days later, the Arbia ran red with Guelf

1900), pp. 148–149. The Palio of St Bartholomew continued to be run annually, until it was supplanted by the celebrated *Festa della Porchetta.*

[1] G. VILLANI, *Cronica*, vi. 1.

[2] ARIOSTO, *Orlando Furioso*, iii. 33.

Ezzelino immanissimo tiranno
Che sia creduto figlio del Demonio.

[3] MONACH. PATAV. in *Rer. Italic. Script.*, viii. 699.

[4] C. CANTU, *Ezzelino da Romano*, in the *Storie Minori* (Torino, 1864), vol. i. p. 240. See also the Chronicle of Fra Salimbene of Parma. This work was published in the original Latin, in 1857; and, in 1882, it was translated into Italian, by C. CANTARELLI (Parma, Luigi Battei). The death of Alberico da Romano is described in vol. i. p. 255.

blood, and the strongest infantry force ever collected in Tuscany was butchered "as beasts are butchered in a slaughter-house."[1]

Yet, in this very year, "while all Italy was stained with many wickednesses, a sudden penitence invaded, first the Perugians, then the Romans, and thereafter well nigh all the peoples of Italy. On such wise and so greatly did the fear of the Lord fall upon them—*In tantum itaque timor Domini irruit super eos*—that nobles and common folk, old men and youths, yea, even children of five years old, marched in procession unashamed, through the piazze of the city, naked save only for those parts which decency forbids to be exposed, two and two, bearing in their hands leather thongs, wherewith, amid groans and weeping, they cruelly scourged their backs even to effusion of blood. With tears rolling down their cheeks, as if they beheld the passion of the Saviour with their bodily eyes, they implored the mercy of God and the help of His Mother, beseeching that they repenting their sins might receive pardon, even as countless other sinners had been pardoned. And not only by day, but also by night, with lighted candles, during an exceeding bitter cold, by hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands, they went from church to church, humbly prostrating themselves before the altars, preceded by priests with crosses and banners. After the same manner did they in the villages and little towns, so that plains and mountains alike resounded with the voices of them who cried upon God. Then were instruments of music and love songs silenced; only the dismal chaunt of the penitents could be heard on every hand, whether in the city or in the country. . . . Then were well nigh all discords healed; hatred was turned to love, and war to peace. Usurers and robbers eagerly sought out those whom they had wronged to restore their ill-gotten gains; men steeped in crime humbly confessed their sins and amended their lives; prisons were opened, prisoners were liberated, and exiles were permitted to return to their homes."[2]

[1] See the chronicle attributed to Niccolò di Ventura, in the *Miscellanea Storica Sanese* of G. PORRI (Siena, 1884), p. 73.

[2] MONACH. PATAV., *Chronic.*, lib. iii. in *Rer. Italic. Script.*, viii. 712.

Neither, in all this, was there any hypocrisy or inconsistency. The men of that age were neither weak nor fickle, they were simply completely natural, and open, as all versatile races are open, to the influence of circumstance.[1] Except in sickness or old age, the mediæval Italian was conscious of few restraints. His belief in a literal burning hell had done much to sap the foundations of his morality and to render him callous and selfish; while the Church had established an impassable gulf between the religious and the ethical duty. Capable of great crimes and of great virtues, the man of the Middle Ages loved and hated, worshipped and blasphemed, with equal passion, and gave free vent to the best and worst sides of his nature. Yet, sin, revel, riot as he might, in the background of his thoughts, the Unseen World was ever present — definite, almost palpable. His saints were very accessible and very real, with human weaknesses and human prejudices. The veil between the visible and the invisible was of the thinnest; he might sell his soul to the devil as easily as he could betray his faction; he might approach the celestial powers as frankly as he would appeal to the Potestà of his native city.[2] What wonder, then, if it was an age of contrasts! And these contrasts are as manifest in the history of the Palio as they are in any and every other phase of mediæval life.

As we have seen already, the Palio was intimately connected with religion. It was generally run on some festival of the Church, or in honour of some saint; and, like the ancient Roman *ludi*, often constituted the principal part of the solemnities. In seasons of pestilence or of special peril, it was regarded as a convenient mode of placating the Divine vengeance.[3] Yet, in spite of its ceremonial and almost sacred character, it was habitually employed as a means of heaping insult and opprobrium on defeated enemies, and was not

[1] See E. ARMSTRONG, *Lorenzo de' Medici* (London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900), pp. 289–290, where this feature of the Italian character is ably discussed.

[2] Compare my "*Ensamples*" *of Fra Filippo. A Study of Mediæval Siena* (Siena, E. Torrini, 1901), chaps. v., vi.

[3] Thus, as I shall have occasion to notice more fully hereafter, the Sienese, in 1363, ordered a palio to be run in honour of Our Lady, *ut suis intercessionibus a vigenti epytimia liberentur.* See the *Deliberazioni del Consiglio Generale, ad annum*, fo. 39ᵗ.

unfrequently celebrated with circumstances of startling indecorum.

In the Communal wars of the 13th and 14th centuries, the first decisive battle generally resulted in the retirement of the defeated army within the walls of its city. The victors ravaged the country round about, and then, advancing to the very gates, coined money in memory of their triumph, hurled asses over the walls with their mangonels, and generally conducted themselves in such a manner as might serve to convince the vanquished of the supreme contempt in which they were held. In 1230, when the Florentines burst through the Porta Camollia and penetrated into Siena as far as S. Pietro alla Magione, the Count Alberto di Mangone hung his shield upon the gate in token of victory ;[1] and, thereafter, they cut down a pine tree "of inestimable greatness," which stood upon Monte Cellesi, distant hardly a mile from the city.[2] However, perhaps the most usual insult was the running of a palio in full view of the beleaguered garrison.

Thus, in 1264, the Pisans ran a palio beneath the walls of Lucca.[3] In the summer of 1289, the Florentines laid siege to Arezzo, "and there they caused to be run a palio for the festival of St John . . . and they hurled asses into the city with mitres on their heads, for despite and scorn of the Bishop thereof."[4] In 1325, Castruccio Castracane, lord of Lucca, broke the Florentine host at Altopascio in the Val di Nievole, and devastated the Florentine contado up to the gates of the city. "Thereafter, on the day of St Francis, the 4th October, he caused to be run three palii from the Ponte alle Mosse[5] even to Peretola, one by folk on horseback, one on foot, and one by prostitutes; nor was there any man so bold that he would issue forth from the city of Florence."[6] In the same year the Modenese, assisted by the troops of Passerino, Seignior of Mantua, of Azzo Visconte and of the Marquises of Este, signally defeated the Bolognese

[1] *Cronica Fiorentina*, published by P. VILLARI in *I primi due secoli della storia di Firenze* (second edition), vol. ii. p. 240.

[2] *Ibidem.* See also MALAVOLTI, *Historia de' fatti e guerre de' Sanesi* (In Venetia, 1599), parte i. c^ta^ 55.

[3] MURATORI, *Rer. Italic. Script.*, vi. 194, 195.

[4] G. VILLANI, *Cronica*, vii. 132.

[5] See p. 9 *supra.*

[6] G. VILLANI, *Cronica*, ix. 317 ; and compare the *Cronaca Sanese* in MURATORI, xv. 71.

THE PIAZZA DEL MUNICIPIO AND CHURCH OF S. LORENZO, PERUGIA

at Zappolino, and advanced with their victorious army to the gates of Bologna, where they caused to be run a palio *ad æternam memoriam præmissorum et æternum Bononiensium scandalum.*[1]

The siege of Arezzo, in 1335, was marked by a strange mixture of religion and indecency; for the victorious Perugians not only caused the prostitutes who followed the army to run a palio in a peculiarly shameless way,[2] but actually supplemented the performance with a solemn mass in the captured Cathedral, above which waved the Perugian standard, the red lion of the Party Guelf on a white field. Money was coined within the sacred precincts, "and (says the chronicler) there were also done many other despites which are not here set down." Lastly, the victors returned to Perugia. "And the prostitutes who had run the palio at Arezzo returned; and they came all clad in rosy red, they and their horses; and they brought with them the said palio. Moreover many marble images were brought which were found in the said Cathedral, the which images were drawn on waggons by oxen; and the oxen and the waggons were covered with red cloth; and the said images were set before the wall of the Church of San Lorenzo of Perugia, toward the piazza; and, in like manner, the said palio was placed there, *perpetue rei memorie.*" The Perugians were frankly pagan. Just as ancient Rome, when she extended her sway over distant nations, enlarged the boundaries of her mythology, and found

[1] *Rer. Italic. Script.*, xi.: *Cronica Modenese, ad annum.*

[2] *Cronaca del Graziani* in the "Archivio storico italiano," tom. xvi. parte i. p. 113.—"Anco ce fecero currere el palio denante a la porta de Arezzo da le putane alzate fina alla centura."—This performance, though frankly indecent, probably offended the modesty of none of the spectators, and can hardly be termed immoral. It was simply an insult to the Aretines. We may, I conceive, fairly compare it with an incident in *Radwell's Case*, 18. E. 1, as reported in *Rolle's Abridgment*. There a woman, desiring to prove that she was not pregnant, uncovered herself in open Court. "*Juramento asserebat se non esse prægnantem; et, ut hoc omnibus manifeste liqueret, vestes suas usque ad tunicam exuebat, et in plena curia sic se videri permisit.*" Mr. Hargrave, commenting upon the case (*Co. Lit.* 123b, n. 190), says that "it reflects great discredit on the lord's court which permitted such gross indecency." That, however, is obviously an 18th century view of the matter, and one which would have been quite incomprehensible to the mediæval mind. Enough to prove this, the fact that, when thirty noble ladies of Treviso, whom Alberico da Romano had stripped and driven out of the city, took refuge with the Cardinal Legate in Venice, he brought them, naked as they were, into the Piazza of St Mark, and made use of them as an argument to point his exhortations to take up arms against the tyrant.—See the *Cronaca di Fra Salimbene* (edition cited), vol. i. p. 258.—The result of that sight and that sermon we have already seen—p. 17 *supra.*

room in her Pantheon for the gods of Egypt, of Syria and of the further East, so Perugia adopted as her own the saints of the cities which she conquered. From Bastia she brought the relics of S. Corrado; from Bettona the body of S. Crispolto, which was placed in her Duomo, and from Arezzo these *inmagine de pietra, o volemo dire de marmo*, of which we have just spoken.[1]

In 1363, "the Pisans made an incursion even to the walls of Florence, and there they halted and abode three days, doing great damage with many insults. They caused three palii to be run, well nigh to the gates of Florence. One was on horseback, another was on foot, and the third was run by loose women (*le femmine mundane*); and they caused newly made priests to sing Mass there, and they coined money of divers kinds, of gold and of silver; on one side thereof was Our Lady with Her Son in her arms, on the other side was the Eagle with the Lion beneath its feet. . . . Thereafter, for further despite, they set up a pair of gallows over against the gate of Florence, and hanged thereon three asses;"[2] "and, for derision, they placed upon the necks thereof the names of three citizens of Florence, to each of them a name."[3] The next year the Florentines had their revenge, for they routed the Pisans at the Borgo di Cascina,[4] and returned home with forty-two waggons[5] full of prisoners, all packed together "like melons," and with a dead eagle, tied by the neck, and dragging along the ground.

> E vennene a Firenze in sulle carra
> Trencentotrenta a modo di poponi.
> E l'aquila impiccata per la gola
> Dinanzi a tutti menò la carola.[6]

With this incident I will conclude the chapter, for I think

[1] *Cronaca del Graziani, op. cit.*, pp. 88, 166. See also L. BONAZZI, *Storia di Perugia dalle Origini al 1860* (Perugia, Tip. di Vincenzo Santucci, 1875), vol. i. p. 399.

[2] *Cronaca Sanese* in MURATORI, xv. 177.

[3] See the *Cronica* of M. VILLANI, continued by his son, xi. 63.

[4] See p. 9 *supra*.

[5] So the *Anonimo fiorentino, Diario cit., ad annum.* VILLANI, *loc. cit.*, cap. 98, says that there were forty-four waggons, and the *Cronichetta* of MANNI, forty-three. The *Diario* of MONALDI agrees with the *Anonimo fiorentino*.

[6] ANTONIO PUCCI, *Guerra di Pisa*, in the *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani*, tom. vi. Compare note 2, p. 13 *supra*.

that I have written enough to afford the reader some notion of what the Palio was in the first two centuries of its existence. I now propose to turn my attention to the origin of the various Sienese palii, and more especially to the greatest of them all, that of Mid-August, which was run in honour of Our Lady, the City's Protector and Advocate.

CHAPTER THE SECOND

SENA VETUS CIVITAS VIRGINIS

Maria advocata
Mediatrix optima
Inter Christum
Et Senam suam.

Assembled is in thee magnificence,
With mercy goodnesse, and with swich pitee,
That thou, that art the sonne of excellence,
Nat oonly helpest hem that preyen thee,
But often tyme, of thy benygnytee,
Ful frely, er that men thyn help biseche,
Thou goost biforn and art hir lyves leche.

CHAUCER, *Second Nun's Tale.*

I

IT is well known that at the dawn of the Communal Era the institutions of Italy, like those of the rest of Christendom, were soaked and permeated by feudalism, and that feudal also, at least in their inception, were the Communes themselves. Indeed, the feudal theory was even extended to things celestial, and the Emperor, as lord paramount of the world, was said "to hold direct from God." Bearing this in mind, we are the better able to understand the peculiar feelings with which the Sienese regarded the Blessed Virgin after the solemn act of dedication whereby, in 1260, they constituted themselves her vassals, and Her the suzerain of their Commune and of its contado.

The occasion was one of special peril. The Florentines, who had invaded the Sienese territory, without opposition, by the way of the Val di Pesa, were advancing upon the city, and had sent ambassadors from their camp at Pieve Asciata to demand immediate surrender. The hostile army included levies from Bologna, Prato, Volterra, Samminiato,

Colle di Val d'Elsa and San Gimignano, and was further augmented by troops from Orvieto, Perugia and Arezzo, to say nothing of a thousand knights under the Count Aldobrandino Rosso of Pitigliano, and six hundred Sienese *fuorusciti* under Pepo Visconti da Campiglia. In all, they must have numbered close upon forty thousand fighting men. One chronicler says fifty-six thousand; while Malavolti, without committing himself to any particular cipher, tells us that the army was "tremendo per la moltitudine, se non per altra qualità sua."[1]

It was the 2nd of September, and the Council of the *Ventiquattro*, the heads of the State, were in session in the Church of San Cristofano in the Piazza Tolomei, when the Florentine envoys arrived, and, "without making any reverence or obeisance," delivered their message in these words: "We will that this city shall be forthwith dismantled, and that all the walls shall be levelled with the ground, that we may enter and depart at our pleasure, and that we may so enter and so depart in such place as we may choose. And further, we will to place a *Signoria* in every Terzo of Siena at our pleasure; in like manner to build forthwith a strong fortress in Camporegi, and to garrison and provision it, and to maintain the same for our magnificent and potent Commune of Florence; and this right quickly without any delay. As for you, if ye do not do all that we have commanded you, ye may await with certainty to be besieged by our potent Commune of Florence. And we warn you that, in such case, we are resolved to have no pity. Give us then your answer at once."

And, continues the chronicler,[2] "the *Ventiquattro*, having heard at the mouths of the ambassadors these iniquitous and wicked demands, replied to them after this manner: 'We have heard and understood that which ye have demanded,

[1] MALAVOLTI, ii. at c^te^ 14, 15.

[2] *La sconfitta di Montaperto secondo il manoscritto di Niccolò di Giovanni di Francesco Ventura*, published by GIUSEPPE PORRI, in his "Miscellanea Storica Sanese" (Siena, 1844). According to the best opinion, the chronicle was written very shortly after the battle. In all the versions which have come down to us, there are, however, numerous interpolations and glosses of a later date. See the *Manuale della Lett. Ital. compilato dai professori* A. D'ANCONA *e* O. BACCI (Firenze, Barbèra, 1903), vol. i. p. 184. Ventura's version was written in 1442.

and we bid you return to the captain and to the commissaries of your Commune, and to say unto them that we will give them an answer face to face.' Then the ambassadors departed from Siena, and went to the camp of the Florentines, which was now near to Montaperto. For, while the ambassadors were in Siena, they had departed from Pieve Asciata, and had pitched their camp between the Malena and the Valdibiena, in the level spot which is called *le Cortine.* And thither went the Florentine ambassadors, and delivered their message to the captain and to the commissaries as the *Ventiquattro* had said unto them, that they would answer them face to face. And then, the said troops, in the said place, bethought them to encamp and to abide, awaiting the said reply of the Sienese."

Meanwhile, in Siena was great dread, and more than one of the councillors, whether through treachery or through fear, advised that "in something the Florentines should be pleasured and contented, lest worse things come upon us." Nor can we greatly marvel at their pusillanimity, when we remember that, for well nigh a century, the City of the Lily had pursued her triumphant course, vanquishing all her enemies. At Asciano, at Montalto, at Calcinaia sull' Arno, at Montaia and at Pontedera, the Sienese had been hopelessly routed; their contado had been overrun and devastated until the country folk had begun to migrate into Florentine territory, leaving their flame-blackened homesteads and ruined vineyards;[1] while Montalcino and Montepulciano had shaken off their allegiance and had allied themselves with the Guelf Commune. Verily the statement of Sanzanome, that he had never seen or heard that the Sienese had defeated the Florentines, was, with all its exaggeration, something more than an empty boast.[2]

However, there were gallant spirits in Siena who did not yet wholly despair; and by the influence of Provenzano Salvani and of the Count Giordano, who had been sent to

[1] See Professor L. ZDEKAUER's edition of the *Constituto del Comune di Siena dell' anno 1262* (Milano, 1897), Distinction iii. Rubric 340.

[2] *Gesta Florentinorum* (Florentine edition), p. 134. "Hoc tamen affirmo quod senenses superare florentinos non vidi nec audivi quod in bello fuissent in tabula cum eisdem."

the assistance of the city, by King Manfred, with a force of eight hundred German men-at-arms, it was finally resolved to give battle to the enemy.

"Now the citizens of Siena had heard of the cruel demand of the Florentines . . . and all the city was moved. And all the people left their dwellings and came to S. Cristofano; and so great was the multitude of the people who were in the Piazza Tolomei and through all the streets, that scarcely were they able to contain them.

"And when they beheld this, the *Ventiquattro*, who ruled and governed the city of Siena, forthwith assembled a council; and it was proposed to make a syndic, who should have full pre-eminence and power, and should embody in his own person the authority which belonged to the whole body of the citizens collectively; and that he should be empowered to give, grant, sell and pledge Siena and its contado as to him might seem advisable.

"As if inspired by God, the said Councillors, by common consent, chose for syndic a man of perfect and good life, and of the best qualities which at that time could be found in Siena, by name Buonaguida Lucari. To him was given full and free authority and power, as much as had the whole body of the city, as is said above. And, while this man was being elected syndic, our spiritual father, Misser the Bishop, caused the bell to be rung to call together the clergy of Siena, priests, canons and friars, and all the religious orders, in the Church of the Duomo of Siena.[1] And all the clergy being gathered together, as you have heard, Misser the Bishop spake briefly to those clerics who were there, and said: *Tantum est ministri Virginis Dei, etc.* And in his discourse he taught all those clergy how it was their duty to pray

[1] At this time Tommaso Balzetti degli Scotti de' Grandi was Bishop of Siena (1254–1273). Learned, zealous and of holy life, he is often decorated with the title of *Beatus* by the early chroniclers, and the expression "our spiritual father, Misser the Bishop" was no mere formal recognition of episcopal rank.* It may, however, be interesting to note that, while the temporal sovereignty of the Bishop had long since passed away, he still held a position of great authority and influence, possessing what almost amounted to an indirect power of legislation. Compare *Il Constituto del C. di Siena dell' anno 1262* (edition cited), Distinction i. Rubrics 128, 141, 192.

* See PECCI, *Storia del Vescovado, op. cit.*, p. 216.

to God, and to His most holy Virgin Mary, and to all the Saints, for the people and for the city, that God would vouchsafe to preserve them from so great ruin and subjection; even as He delivered Nineveh through fasting and prayer, that so it might please God to deliver Siena from the fury of the Florentines and from destruction at their hands. And he commanded that every man should go in procession, bare-footed, through the Duomo, singing in a loud voice psalms and spiritual songs, with litanies and with many prayers.

"Now, while Misser the Bishop was, as you have heard, making procession with his clergy in the Duomo, God, by reason of the prayers of the clergy and of all good people who prayed to Him throughout the city—God, moved to compassion by the prayers of His Mother, suddenly put it in the heart of the syndic, namely of Buonaguida, to rise and speak as follows. And he spake in so loud a voice that he was heard by those citizens who were without in the Piazza di S. Cristofano. 'As you, Signori of Siena, know, we have prayed the protection of King Manfred; now, it appears to me that we should give ourselves, our goods and our persons, the city and the contado, to the Queen of Life Eternal; that is to Our Lady Mother, the Virgin Mary. To make this gift may it please you all to bear me company.'

"As soon as he had said these words, Buonaguida stripped himself to his shirt, and bare-footed and bare-headed, with a rope around his neck, came forth into the presence of all those citizens, and, in his shirt, betook himself toward the Duomo. And all the people who were there followed him; and those whom he met upon his way went with him; and, for the most part, they were bare-footed and without their cloaks, and no man had anything upon his head. And he went bare-footed repeating over and over: 'Glorious Virgin Mary, Queen of Heaven, aid us in our great need, that we may be delivered out of the hand of our enemies the Florentines—those lions who wish to devour us.' And all the people said: 'Madonna, Queen of Heaven, we entreat thy compassion.' And so they reached the Duomo.

"And Misser the Bishop went through the Duomo in procession. At the high altar, before Our Lady, he began to sing the *Te Deum laudamus* in a loud voice. And as he began, Buonaguida reached the door of the Duomo, with the people following him, and commenced to cry with a loud voice: *Misericordia*—the said Buonaguida and all the people, *Misericordia.*—At which cry Misser the Bishop turned himself about with all his clergy, and came to meet the said Buonaguida. When they were come together, each man made reverence, and Buonaguida fell upon his face upon the ground. Misser the Bishop raised him up and gave him the kiss of peace; and so all those citizens kissed one another on the mouth. And this was at the lower part of the choir of the Duomo.

"Then, holding one another by the hand, Misser the Bishop and Buonaguida went to the altar before Our Mother, the Virgin Mary, and kneeled down with great crying and continual tears. This Buonaguida remained stretched out upon the ground, and all the people and women, with very great weeping and sobbing, waited for the space of a quarter of an hour. Then Buonaguida alone raised himself upon his feet and stood erect before Our Mother, the Virgin Mary, and spake many wise and discreet words, among which were these: 'Gracious Virgin, Queen of Heaven, Mother of sinners, to thee I, a miserable sinner, give, grant and recommend (*ti do e dono e raccomando*) this city and the contado of Siena. And I pray thee, Mother of Heaven, that thou wilt be pleased to accept it, although, to one so powerful as thou art, it is but a little gift. And likewise I pray and supplicate thee to guard, free and defend our city from the hands of our enemies the Florentines, and from whomsoever may desire to injure us or to bring upon us anguish and destruction.'

"These words being said, Misser the Bishop ascended into the pulpit and preached a very beautiful sermon, teaching the people of unity and exhorting them to love one another, to forgive those who had done them wrong, and to confess and communicate. And he entreated them to unite to place this city and their persons under the pro-

tection of the glorious Virgin Mary, and to go with him and with his clergy in procession.

"And in this procession, before them all was carried the carven crucifix which stands in the Duomo, above the altar of S. Jacomo Interciso, beside the campanile.[1] Next followed all the monks and friars, and then came a canopy, and under the canopy was Our Mother, the Virgin Mary. Hard by was Misser the Bishop, and he was bare-footed; and at his side was Buonaguida, in his shirt and with a rope about his neck, as you have heard. Then followed all the Canons of the Duomo, bare-footed and bare-headed. They went singing holy psalms and litanies and prayers. And behind them came all the people, bare-footed and uncovered, and all the women bare-footed, and many with their hair dishevelled, ever recommending themselves to God and to Hs Mother the Virgin Mary, and saying *Pater nosters* and *Ave Marias* and other prayers. . . . And so they went in procession even to the Church of San Cristofano and into the Campo, and returned to the Duomo, where they remained to confess and to receive the sacrament and to make peace with one another. And he who was the most injured sought out his enemy to make with him perfect and good accord.

"And thereafter, when he had confessed and was in perfect charity with all men, the said Buonaguida left the Duomo with a little company, and returned to San Cristofano; and there, together with the *Ventiquattro*, as if inspired by God, they deliberated well and wisely.

"Now these things befel on Thursday the 2nd day of September. And, nearly all night long, the people thronged to confess and to make peace the one with the other. He who had received the greater injury went about seeking his enemy to kiss him on the mouth and to pardon him. In this they consumed the greater part of the night.

"And when the morning was come, the *Ventiquattro*, who ruled and governed Siena, sent three criers—into every Terzo one—proclaiming and crying: 'Valorous citizens,

[1] This crucifix is said to be the one which is to be seen to-day above the altar of the first chapel in the northern transept of the Duomo. The legend, however, is untrustworthy, as the crucifix in question seems to be a work of the early Quattrocento.—See the new *Guide to Siena*, by W. HEYWOOD and L. OLCOTT (Siena, E. Torrini, 1903), p. 241.

make ready! Arm yourselves! Take your perfect armour; and let each man, in the name of Our Mother the Virgin Mary, follow his proper banner, ever recommending himself to God and to His Mother.'

"And hardly was the proclamation finished when all the citizens flew to arms. The father did not wait for the son, nor one brother for another; and so they went toward the Porta San Viene.[1] And thither came all the standard-bearers. The first was that of San Martino, first from reverence for the Saint, and also because that Terzo was near to the gate. The second was that of the City, with a very great army of people and well equipped. The third was the royal banner of Camollia, which represented the mantle of Our Mother, the Virgin Mary, and was all white and shining, fair and pure.[2] Behind that banner came a great multitude

[1] The *Porta San Viene* is, of course, the same as the *Porta Pispini.*—See *Guide to Siena, op. cit.*, p. 20.—In this connection it is curious to note that that "malignant detractor of the Sienese," Giovanni Villani, did not even know the topography of the city he so systematically slandered. He speaks of the army of Siena as issuing through the *porta di San Vito.*—*Cronica*, vi. 79.

[2] The city of Siena is still divided into three *Terzi* or *Terzieri*, viz. the Terzo di Città, the Terzo di Camollia, and the Terzo di San Martino. The banner of the Terzo di Città displayed a white cross on a red field; that of the Terzo di Camollia was, as we have seen, all white; while the banner of the Terzo di San Martino was red, the Saint being depicted thereon, in the act of giving his cloak to a beggar. In a poem of the 16th century, which celebrates the victory of Camollia (1526), we have the following description of these standards:—

El primo Gonfalon che 'n Piazza venne
Fù di Città, quel valoroso Terzo,
Che fuoco tutto acceso par ch' accenne
Di bianca purità la Croce alterzo;
Tremila cinquecento pedon tenne
Di gente d' arme, e non da ciancie, o scherzo,
Divisi tutti in variate schiere,
Dette Compagne con le lor Bandiere.

El secondo che in Piazza venne avanti
Fù 'l bel Terzier chiamato San Martino,
Dove a cavallo dipinto innanzi
Lui, che si spoglia, e veste un poverino,
E sotto questo son tremila fanti
Di stare a paragon col suo vicino.
. . . . .

L' ultimo venne quel di Camollia,
Ch' è tutto bianco quel ch' a Monte Aperto
A Fiorentini cavò ben la pazzia
Quando el lor Campo rimase diserto,
Tremila cento fanti questo havia
Al morir per la Patria ognun esperto. . . .

(See G. A. PECCI, *Memorie storico-critiche della Città di Siena*, ii. 224.)

of people, citizens, foot-soldiers and horsemen; and with this company were many priests and friars, some with weapons and some without, to aid and comfort the troops; and all were of good will, of one mind and of one purpose, and well disposed against our enèmies the Florentines, who with so great vehemence had demanded things unrighteous and contrary to reason.

"Now, all the men having gone forth, those devout women who remained in Siena, together with Misser the Bishop and the clergy, commenced betimes, on Friday morning, a solemn procession with all the relics which were in the Duomo and in all the churches of Siena. And they went from one church to another; the clergy singing divine psalms, litanies and prayers, and the women all bare-footed, in coarse garments, ever praying to God that He would send back to them their fathers, sons, brothers and husbands. And all, with great weeping and wailing, went on that procession, ever calling upon the Virgin Mary.

"Thus they went all Friday, and all that day they fasted. When even was come, the procession returned to the Duomo, and there they all knelt, and so remained while Misser the Bishop said the litanies, with many prayers, to the honour and glory of God and of His and our Mother. Thereafter, they made confession; and also there were offered up many fervent prayers to the glory of God and of the Virgin Mary, always entreating her for the city of Siena, and for all its contado: 'Especially we beseech thee, Mother most holy, that thou wilt give assistance and valour and great courage to us, thy people, to the end that we may, by thy aid, obtain the victory over our enemies and over those who wish or are able to injure us; whereby the so great pride and wickedness of those accursed dogs and iniquitous Florentines may be abased and brought to naught. And also we pray thee, oh, Our Mother, that the Florentines may not have strength, nor courage, nor valour, nor any power of resistance against the people of Siena, who are thy people. And thou, Madonna, our Mother, give help and wisdom to this thy city.'

"And now that we have told of Misser the Bishop, our spiritual father, and of the devout citizens and women, how

they besought God and His Mother, Saint Mary, to give victory to the city of Siena and to its people, we will speak of the ordered legions of all the army.

"The day commenced to break; and it was that blessed day Friday, the third of September, in the year aforesaid; so, being drawn up in battle array, they commenced their march towards the Bozzone. Ever the squadrons kept close together, that of the Captain of the Commune of Siena, and that of Misser the Count Giordano. . . . So one company followed the other, always close together. And they held on their way towards the Bozzone. All went calling on the name of our Lord God, and of His Mother, the Virgin Mary; and to her they ever commended themselves, beseeching her to give them help, and strength, and courage, and power against those wicked and perfidious Florentines. Thus praying, they came to the foot of a hill which is called the Poggio de' Ropoli; which hill was over against the camp of the Florentines."

And, says Giovanni Villani, when the Guelf army, which was expecting with confidence the surrender of the city, "beheld the Germans and the other knights and the people of Siena come towards them as though they intended to give battle, they marvelled greatly and were sore afraid"[1]—a statement which is corroborated by the Sienese chroniclers, who embellish their narratives by the introduction of supernatural incidents; for they tell us that the Captain of the Florentines had with him a familiar spirit—*il diavolo rinchiuso in una lampolla*—who, being interrogated, informed him that he was foredoomed to die between the evil and the good (*fra 'l male e 'l bene*)—a saying which disquieted him greatly, when he learned that the two streams between which he had encamped his army were called respectively *la Biena* and *la Malena*.[2] Moreover, that night the Florentine

[1] G. VILLANI, vi. 79.

[2] It may be observed that Giovanni Villani returns the compliment with interest when he recounts the Guelf victory of Colle di Val d'Elsa, in 1269, declaring that Provenzano Salvani, the Sienese general, was deceived by a devil, whom he had consulted as to the result of the battle, and who paltered with him in a double sense, and lured him to his death (*Cronica*, vii. 31). Florence could give Siena many points in the game of calumny, and beat her badly.—Compare my "*Ensamples*" *of Fra Filippo, etc., op. cit.*, p. 28 note; and see Professor LANGTON DOUGLAS' *History of Siena* (London, John Murray, 1902), pp. 80, 352.

sentries "beheld as it were a mantle, most white, which covered all the camp of the Sienese and the city of Siena. And thereat they marvelled greatly; and some said: 'It is nothing but the smoke of the great fires which the Sienese have made.' But others said: 'Not so, for if it were smoke it would drift away, whereas this abideth ever in the same place, as ye see. Wherefore this must be more than smoke.' And there were those who said that to them it seemed to be the mantle of Our Mother, the Virgin Mary, the guardian and defender of the people of Siena. So said many in the camp of the Florentines. . . .

"And when this mantle was seen by the Sienese over the camp and over the city of Siena, they fell upon their knees upon the earth, with tears, saying: 'Glorious Virgin, we beseech thee that thou wilt protect us and deliver us out of the hand of our enemies, and that they may not have force or courage against us.' And all said: 'This is a great miracle; this is an answer to the prayers of our father Misser the Bishop, and of his holy clergy, and of the righteous women and men who have remained in Siena in his company; and ever they are praying to God and to His Mother, the Virgin Mary, beseeching them to give us help and strength against those dogs, the Florentines.'"

With the more minute details of the battle itself:

> lo strazio e il grande scempio
> Che fece l'Arbia colorata in rosso,

we are not concerned. Indeed, the story has been told so often that it is not necessary to repeat it.[1] Suffice it to record the closing scenes of the grim tragedy. After the treason of Bocca degli Abati, when the men-at-arms had ridden amain out of the battle, and the foot-soldiers were scattered abroad in their flight, like seed cast by the hand

[1] Probably the best description of the battle is to be found in Professor LANGTON DOUGLAS' *History of Siena, op. cit.*, pp. 91–104. Quite as important is the *Battaglia di Montaperti* by C. PAOLI, published in the "Bullettino della Società Senese di Storia Patria Municipale," vol. ii. This, in connection with the *Libro di Montaperti* (vol. ix. of the "Documenti di Storia Italiana"), should furnish all the information which can be demanded by the most exigent of students. SISMONDI, in his *History of the Italian Republics* (vol. i. p. 411 of the Italian edition), gives a long list of the chroniclers and historians who have dealt with the subject.

of the sower, the flower of the Florentine army collected around the *carroccio*, and the banners which they had been given to guard; and there, at the foot of the Poggiarone, made their last memorable stand. Above them still floated the proud standard of the people of Florence, and better was it to die at its foot than to see it fall into the hands of the hated Sienese, or their own still more hated *fuorusciti*. Then spake they comfortable words the one to the other, each man bidding his fellow to be of good courage and to defend that *carroccio* and those banners which, in so many wars in the days that were past, they had followed to victory. They reminded each other that by no means must they bring shame upon the haughty name of Florentine, and that to survive were infamy. They kissed those honoured trophies, and covered them with their bodies, and, long after all hope was dead and their allies and the bulk of their fellow-citizens were already in headlong flight, they still fought on, disdaining to yield. So determined was their resistance and so furious their valour, that the whole Sienese army failed to conquer them, and the *carroccio* was only taken when the last of its defenders lay stark in death at its side.[1]

Then, all being over, the victors, and more especially the Germans, vied with one another in befouling the Guelf ensigns, and in trampling them into the mire, thus revenging the great despite done to the royal standard of King Manfred on the day of Santa Petronilla.[2] And from all the Sienese army arose a great shout: "They are broken! They are broken! Smite them, smite them, O valorous host! Let not one of them escape!" "And," writes the fierce old chronicler, "it was astonishing to see the great butchery that they made of those dogs of Florentines. . . . And the slaughter ever increased, and so furious was the press that, if one fell to earth, he might by no means regain his feet again, but was trampled to death. And so great were the

[1] LEONARDO ARETINO, *Ist. Fior.*, lib. ii.

Even the Sienese chronicler Aldobrandini, albeit in words of scant courtesy, testifies to the gallantry of the Florentines. "Ma come el peccatore, che è indurato nella mala vita, e che s' avvede della sua ruina e non la fugge, così s' avollieno loro come se fussero ciechi, tanto che capitavano male." See PORRI'S *Misc. Stor. Sanese*, p. 21.

[2] See LANGTON DOUGLAS, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

piles of slaughtered men, and of horses, that it was difficult to pass them to smite what remained of the enemy. And the blood stood ankle-deep as it were a lake. Think ye how many were dead! . . . Then rose the Malena and ran bank-high with blood, and flowed so strongly that it would have sufficed to turn four great water-mills. Such was the abundance of the blood of the Florentines and of their adherents which was shed that day. . . . And the valorous people of Siena ever followed them, butchering them as a butcher slays the animals in a slaughter-house.[1] And seeing this, those of Lucca, of Arezzo and of Orvieto, and likewise those of the Val d'Elsa, namely, the men of Colle, of S. Gimignano and of Volterra, and certain folk of Prato and of Pistoia, and especially what few were left alive of the people of Lucca and of Arezzo—seeing this, to wit the great slaughter that was made of them—suddenly turned aside and fled towards Montaperto; and there they made a stand, wotting well that they could not escape, so hotly were they pursued by the Sienese. And all those others fled this way and fled that, and knew not whither to go to save themselves. And each man cried: 'I surrender myself prisoner;' but there was none that would accept his surrender, for they smote them all with the sword. Wherefore it availed them nothing to say: 'Misericordia, I surrender;' for no man attended thereunto. And worse was their fate who prayed for mercy than theirs who died fighting.

"And beholding these things, the Captain of the Sienese

[1] By "the valorous people of Siena," in this connection, we must, I apprehend, understand the foot-soldiers (*popoli* or *pedites*) as opposed to the *milites* (*cavalieri*) or men-at-arms. It had been a battle of cavalry; and the old chronicles read like a piece out of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*. Only when the *milites* had done their work, and the Florentine host was broken, did the *valoroso popolo di Siena* become useful.—Compare P. VILLARI, *Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi* (Milano, Hoepli, 1895, second edition), vol. i. pp. 16–17.

In Siena, in the 13th century, the fundamental division of the body politic, both for civil and military purposes, was that of *Milites* and *Populus*. Cavalieri and People alike, were divided into three companies; each of which marched under its own banner (*VI gonfalones, tres ad opus militum et tres ad opus peditum*). The number of these companies was undoubtedly based upon the division of the city into *Terzi* (see p. 31 *supra*, note 2). The banners, both of *milites* and *populi*, were given in public parliament, assembled either *in Campo post Sanctum Paulum*, or *in platea ante Ecclesiam maiorem*; but, while the people took oath before the *carroccio*, the *milites* swore upon their standards.—See page xxxxiv of the *Dissertazione sugli Statuti del Comune di Siena*, which precedes the text of the *Constituto* in Professor ZDEKAUER'S edition.

held council with the standard-bearers, and with the Count Giordano, and with those valiant knights; and there spake the Captain after this manner: 'See ye what great butchery of men and horses hath been made, and is being made here?' And he was moved to compassion; and that all might not die, he said: 'To me it seems that we should do well to send a proclamation, that they who wish to surrender shall be taken prisoners, and that he who will not yield shall be slain without pity.' And so was it done incontinently. And right glad were they who fled when they heard the proclamation to yield and to be received as prisoners. And they helped to bind themselves, so joyful were they to escape death. . . . And the number of the prisoners was twenty thousand; and there were not then in Siena as many men as there were prisoners. Think ye then how many were dead. The number was incredible, for there were ten thousand dead, besides the horses which were slaughtered to the number of eighteen thousand. And, by reason of the great stench from the rotting corpses, they abandoned all that district. And for much time no one dwelt there, neither did any living thing come nigh it, save only wild and savage beasts."

Thus was the ancient people of Florence broken and brought to naught—*rotto e annullato.*—The words are Villani's; and thus

fu distrutta
La rabbia fiorentina, che superba
Era in quel tempo sì com' ora è putta.

The night after the battle the victorious army encamped upon the hill of Ropoli, and, on Sunday morning, returned to Siena, having, according to the *Diario* of Gigli, first made a breach in the walls, in order that the *carroccio* might enter the city without lowering its great banner. Then "went they all to the Duomo, and there, with great reverence and devotion, gave praise and honour and glory to the Most High God; and all returned thanks to Our Mother, the Virgin Mary, for the great honour and victory which she had given to her people."

The *antenne* of the Sienese *carroccio* were set up in the

Cathedral,[1] and new money was coined, whereon, in addition to the ancient legend SENA VETVS, appeared the words, CIVITAS VIRGINIS. Moreover, in after years, it was provided by law that, when the great bell of the Mangia tower—the *campana comunis*—should be rung to assemble the magistrates of the Republic, its summons should commence with three distinct and separate strokes, in memory of the Angelic Salutation, and that if this formality were omitted, the proceedings of the session so irregularly convened should be null and void. So too, by a further statute, it was enacted that: *Nulla mulier meretrix nomine Maria possit in Civitate stare aut morari;*[2] while Professor Zdekauer informs us that, in the 13th century, when, according to the mediæval ritual, the sacrament of Baptism was administered only on the vigils of Easter and of Pentecost, the first female infant who was christened invariably received the name of Mary.[3] Nor did it remain unnoticed by later writers that two of the earliest victories of the Sienese—those of Montemaggio and Rosaio—had been gained upon a Saturday—the day especially sacred to the Madonna.

Touching this same battle of Rosaio, Girolamo Gigli, in his *Città diletta di Maria*, tells us that, among the ancient seals of the Commune of Siena, in the archives of the Spedale della Scala, there was one of the 12th century, whereon was depicted the city, surrounded by the legend: *Salvet Virgo Senam veterem quam signat amenam*, together with a representation of the Virgin, seated above an altar, with the Holy Child in her arms and a rose in her right hand. On either side was an angel, and under foot a great and horrible serpent.

This serpent (says he) is symbolical of the enemies of the Republic trampled under foot by the Blessed Virgin, and possibly has special reference to Frederick Barbarossa, upon

[1] True it is that, according to the popular tradition, the two great *antenne*, which may still be seen in the Duomo of Siena, are those of the Florentine *carroccio*. But the preponderance of evidence is strongly in favour of the statement made in the text. See, on this subject, the remarks of A. LISINI, in the *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia de' Rozzi, Sezione di Storia Patria Municipale* (new series), vol. iii. pp. 177–180; and compare C. PAOLI, in his preface to the *Libro di Montaperti*, page xliii.

[2] GIGLI, *Diario* (edition of 1854), vol. ii. pp. 186–187.

[3] *La Vita privata dei Senesi nel dugento* (Siena, 1896), p. 11.

whose head the great Pope of the Lombard League had set his heel, exclaiming, *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem;* while the rose, in the hand of the Madonna, may have been an allusion to Rosaio, where the armies of the same Frederick were routed by the Sienese, who fell upon them and slew them, "following them until they found no one."[1] And thus, he argues, Buonaguida was encouraged to dedicate the city to the Queen of Heaven, by memories of past protection and deliverance.

Nor shall I enquire into the correctness of that conclusion, because, if we accept it, the charming story of what followed the taking of Campiglia d'Orcia, in 1234, is altogether believable. And it I would not doubt.

"And the said Campiglia (so runs the old chronicle) was sacked, destroyed and burned, because the defenders thereof refused to surrender. And they came all of them to a bad end, save only the women, who were sent to Siena; and no injury was done to them. And many of them were widows, in that their husbands had been slain in the battle. . . . And to those women, such of their husbands as had been made prisoners, were for pity's sake restored, because they had no means wherewith to pay a ransom. . . . And they were all led, bound with a rope, into our Duomo; and there, for the love of the Virgin Mary, who had given us so great a victory, they were released before the high altar."[2] A fine contrast this, to the frantic grief of the poor women on the field of Montalto,[3] and to the terror and despair of the Sienese ladies carried away to a life of shame, in Florence, after the attack upon the Porta Camollia, in 1230.[4]

I am afraid, however, that some of the statements made by the excellent Gigli are hardly to be received with implicit confidence, since, in his hands, everything has reference to

[1] See RONDONI, *Sena Vetus, o il Comune di Siena dalle origini alla Battaglia di Montaperti* (Torino, Bocca, 1892), p. 21.

[2] *Croniche Senesi*, by an unknown author, preserved among the Sienese Archives in the Palazzo del Governo. It is a paper codex of the 18th century, which appears to be a copy of 14th century chronicles.

[3] RONDONI, *op. cit.*, p. 43; SANZANOME, *Gesta florentinorum* (Florentine edition), p. 138.

[4] *Cronica fiorentina*, published by P. VILLARI, *loc. cit.*, p. 240.

and becomes typical of the Queen of Heaven.[1] Thus the white and black stripes on the marble walls of the Holy Sienese Church are emblematic of the purity and humility of the Virgin; or of those joyful and sorrowful mysteries whereby, as she told Saint Bridget, her life was ever divided between happiness and grief. The Balzana, the great black and white banner of the Commune, expresses the same idea; and even the livery of the servitors of the Palazzo Pubblico was adopted out of reverence for two miraculous images of Our Lady—the one in Fontegiusta, which was covered with a blue veil; and the other, known as the Madonna del Belverde, in the Church of the Padri Serviti.

Nevertheless, *La Città diletta di Maria* should be studied by all those who would realize what the worship of the Blessed Virgin meant, and still means, to the Sienese. While to such of my readers as cannot easily obtain access to that work, the following poetical invocation (therein quoted) may give some idea of the childlike confidence with which the people of Siena looked for assistance and protection to their Sovereign Lady and Advocate—the Mother alike of the Most High God and of their native city:—

> Tu, che per dar tutto il tuo latte a Siena,
> Il celeste Figliuol non tieni allato.

A strange metaphor; but full of tenderness, and reverence, and simple faith.

II

Of the first dedication of the City, that of 1260, I have spoken somewhat at length. The four others, which took place respectively in 1483, in 1526, in 1550 and in 1555, may well be passed over with less particularity of detail; although they too are instructive, if we would realize the

[1] "Ed io per me stimo, che non sia giudizio temerario il giudicar Mistero di Maria in tutte le cose del popolo Senese." GIROLAMO GIGLI, in *La Città diletta di Maria.*

UBERTO BENVOGLIENTI, one of Muratori's correspondents and annotator of the *Cronica Senese* (*Rer. Italic. Script.*, xv. 32, 33), speaking of Gigli, and particularly of his statements regarding the above-mentioned seal, says:—"In verità questi sbagli sono talmente massici, che per iscusarlo altro non saprei dire, ch' egli era solo Poeta, e non Istorico."

twofold nature of the reverence which Siena has ever paid to Our Lady, first as the Queen of Heaven, and secondly, as the feudal superior and advocate of the city, and which has coloured alike her laws, her traditions and her art.

And first, of the dedication of 1483.

In October 1482 the *Monte del Popolo* became predominant in the State; and shortly afterwards the *Noveschi* were condemned to perpetual banishment.[1] On the night of the 1st February 1483, the *fuorusciti* surprised the strong fortress of Monteriggioni, and held it for more than two weeks. Thereafter, when Florence refused to permit them any longer to take refuge in her territory, they sought shelter in the States of the Church; and, in August, having obtained the assistance of Rinaldo Baglioni and other gentlemen of Perugia, they invaded the Sienese Maremma and encamped near Saturnia. They were known to have with them only five hundred horse-soldiers and two thousand foot-men, but the very smallness of their number created the greater alarm, since it was believed that they would not have had the audacity to undertake such an invasion unless they were assured of effectual and speedy succour.

In their panic, the civic magistrates bethought them to once more dedicate the city to the Virgin Mary, who, in time past, had so signally preserved it from peril; and this, it was urged, was the more necessary, because the admission of the suzerainty of the Duke of Milan, in 1399, had in a manner deprived Our Lady of her feudal rights, and might have justly moved her to indignation. It was therefore unanimously resolved that Siena should be "restored and anew given and conceded to the Most Glorious Virgin, than whom

[1] It is, perhaps, superfluous to remark that, from the 14th century to the 16th, the internal history of Siena is, in fact, the history of those celebrated factions which were known as *Ordini* or *Monti*, and which represented at one and the same time, not only the political parties of the Republic, but also its social divisions. They have been happily characterized as "successive strata of dominant factions whose horizontal formation was disturbed by chronic seismic upheaval." — E. ARMSTRONG, *The Emperor Charles V.* (London, Macmillan, 1902), vol. i. p. 124.

These *Monti* were five in number, viz. the *Monte de' Gentiluomini*, the *Monte de' Nove* or *Noveschi*, the *Monte de' Dodici*, the *Monte de' Riformatori*, and the *Monte del Popolo*.

The reader who is interested in the subject will find it fully treated in an article by the late Professor PAOLI, *I Monti o Fazioni nella Repubblica di Siena*, published in the "Nuova Antologia" of August 1891. See also *Guide to Siena, op. cit.*, pp. 45–91.

there can be no more effectual or stronger protection and safeguard.[1]

At this period, as in 1260, the high altar of the Cathedral still stood beneath the cupola; and above it rose the celebrated ancona of Duccio, which Agnolo di Tura declares to have been "the most beautiful painting ever seen or made," and which "cost more than 3000 florins of gold." On the main panel was represented the Virgin enthroned, surrounded by saints and angels, while, at her feet, was inscribed the pious and proud legend:

MATER . SANCTA . DEI . SIS . CAVSA . SENIS . REQVIEI .
SIS . DVCIO . VITA . TE . QVIA . PINXIT . ITA .[2]

This, however, was not the same picture before which Buonaguida had "kneeled down with great crying and continual tears." That had been removed to the Chapel of S. Bonifazio, and is the same which now stands in the so-called *Cappella del Voto*. It was known as "Our Lady of Grace," or as "Our Lady of the large eyes" (*Madonna degli occhi grossi*), by reason of the number of silver eyes which had been presented as votive offerings, and which, up to the year 1458, had been hung about the picture, in much the same manner as the trinkets which now adorn the *Madonna del Bordone* in the Church of the Servi di Maria.[3] And, since "this Our Lady was she who had hearkened unto the people of Siena what time the Florentines were routed at Montaperto,"[4] it was resolved that to her the renewed dedication should be made.

[1] The original documents with regard to this and subsequent dedications are preserved in the Archives of Siena. They have, however, been collected and published by A. TOTI, in his *Atti di votazione della Città di Siena, etc.* (Lazzeri, 1870).

[2] Of this picture Miss L. OLCOTT (*Guide to Siena, op. cit.*, p. 255) says that it is "not only the most important work in the annals of Sienese painting, but one of the most remarkable in the history of Italian art." It has been admirably criticised by Mr. BERNHARD BERENSON in his *Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*. See also E. C. NORTON, *Historical Studies of Church Building in the Middle Ages* (New York, Harper Bros., 1880); LANGTON DOUGLAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 345 *seq.*, and A. LISINI, *Notizie di Duccio Pittore e della sua celebre ancona*, in the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, vol. v. (1898), pp. 20–51.

[3] See *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, vol. i. (1893), pp. 10–11.

[4] *Anonymous Chronicle*, MS. in the "Biblioteca Comunale di Siena." Others, however, declare that the *Madonna delle Grazie* was painted by Guido da Siena, immediately after the battle, and in gratitude for the victory. Cf. the Chronicle of Ventura (cited *supra*), p. 46, and note.

MADONNA AND CHILD

FROM THE ANCONA OF DUCCIO BUONINSEGNA

Accordingly, on the 24th August 1483, the Magnificent Signori and the Captain of the People went in procession from their Palace to the Cathedral, accompanied by all the magistrates of the Commune and by a great multitude of the citizens; and they came even to the choir, where were the lord Cardinal and divers Bishops. Thereafter, was celebrated a solemn mass, upon the conclusion of which Master Mariano da Ghinazano ascended the pulpit and preached an eloquent sermon in praise of Our Lady. Then the lord Cardinal, walking between the Magnificent Prior and the Captain of the People, and followed by the others, approached the *Cappella delle Grazie* (*Capella que vulgariter nuncupatur la Madonna de le Gratie ubi est ejus diva figura*); and there, surrounded by a crowd of persons of both sexes, Andrea Sani, the Magnificent Prior, reverently deposited the keys of the gates of the city, laying them upon the altar before the holy image of the Glorious Virgin. The Cardinal offered up a devout prayer especially composed for the occasion (*oratio quaedam devotissima ad propositum facta*); and the notary of the *Concistoro* formally published the contract of the presentation of the keys, whereby it was expressly stipulated that no one, of whatever rank, dignity or pre-eminence, whether ecclesiastical or temporal, should acquire or be deemed to have acquired any right by reason of the said ceremony, save only the Glorious Virgin herself; who was thereby constituted the "true feudal lady, guardian, defender and safeguard" of Siena and of the Sienese—*vera domina, custos, defensio, et presidium nostrum*—while the Magnificent Signori, the Governors of the City for the time being, and their successors, were declared to be her immediate vassals and representatives, and to hold their offices direct from her. Then the Prior, rising to his feet, once more drew near to the altar, and with his own hands reassumed the keys, while the choir broke out into a loud *Te Deum*, which rolled and thundered upwards to the star-spangled roof of the Holy Sienese Church.

Of this ceremony, besides the proceedings of the *Concistoro* and of the *Consiglio della Campana*, we have a very curious record in the shape of one of the *Tavolette Dipinte*, preserved

in the Palazzo del Governo, among the Sienese Archives. As every visitor to Siena knows, these *Tavolette*, which were originally used as covers for the Books of Biccherna and of Gabella, constitute a kind of pictorial chronicle of the Commune.[1] On the *Tavoletta* of 1483, the Virgin is depicted as leaning forward to receive the keys at the hand of the Prior. Nor, in fact, did it seem for the moment that the renewed dedication of the City had failed of its purpose. The attack upon Saturnia failed; and the *fuorusciti*, being forbidden to enter the dominions of the Church, were compelled to take refuge in the contado of Perugia.

Four years later, however, in July 1487, the *Noveschi* returned glorious and triumphant, with Pandolfo Petrucci at their head; and the people, who a few years before had expelled him from the city, welcomed the exiles with shouts of joy. The public books record their return as being brought about "by the grace of God and of his Glorious Mother, the Virgin Mary, Lady of this City;"[2] and, for a memorial of so auspicious an occasion, the conquerors caused to be painted, on a *Tavoletta di Gabella*, a ship bearing the arms and banners of the Commune, which is buffeted by contrary winds on a rocky coast. On high, the Virgin clothed all in gold, and surrounded by angels, guides it into port. And so, with constant change, we see the celestial patronage adapt itself to the pleasure of the opposing factions, according to the momentary predominance of the one or the other.

III

We must now pass over a period of something more than a generation, and come to the year 1526.

With the murder of Alessandro Bichi (6th April 1525) the predominance of the *Noveschi* had come to an end, and many of them fled the city. The cause of the exiles was warmly espoused by the Medicean Pope, Clement VII.; and, after the formation of the Holy League (22nd May 1526), when Siena, by reason of her position on the great Via Francigena

[1] See my *A Pictorial Chronicle of Siena* (Siena, E. Torrini, 1902).
[2] *Delib. di Cons. Generale della Campana del 27 luglio*, 1487.

between Rome and Florence, became a point of considerable importance to the allies, he actively intervened on their behalf. The papal and Florentine troops invaded the Sienese territories, and, advancing even to the walls of the city, occupied the suburb of Santa Petronilla, outside the Porta Camollia; while, at about the same time, Andrea Doria appeared off the coast of the Maremma, with a fleet of eight galleys, and, without opposition, possessed himself of Grosseto, Portercole, Santo Stefano and Talamone. What, then, could the good citizens do but appeal once more to their Advocate and Defender, Our Mother, the Virgin Mary?

On Sunday, the 22nd July, the magistrates of the Republic went in solemn procession to the Duomo, accompanied by a great silk standard, upon which was painted, above, the assumption of the Madonna, and, below, the city of Siena; and there presented themselves before the altar of Our Lady of Grace, to whom they consigned the keys of the gates according to the ancient rite. She was solemnly proclaimed the Lady and feudal Seignior of the Commune, and entreated to intercede with her Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ, on its behalf, that he would vouchsafe to deliver it from "the Florentines and from Pope Clement VII., his enemies and ours" (*a manu inimicorum ipsius florentinorum et pontificis Clementis VII inimicorum nostrorum.*[1] Then, on the Wednesday following, the Sienese sallied forth from the Porta Camollia and from the Porta Fontebranda, and fell upon the enemy with such fury that they put them to the rout, killing more than a thousand of them.

It was a second Montaperto. Women and priests joined in pursuing and slaughtering the fugitives; and, if after the battle of the Arbia, Usiglia, the huckstress, "took and bound, with the band which she wore upon her head, thirty and six prisoners, all of the city of Florence," [2] there did not lack a

[1] A. Toti, *op. cit.*, "Votazione IV."

[2] "E essa Usiglia ne prese e legò a una sua benda trenta e sei prigioni tutti del corpo de la città di Firenze."—*Cronica di Ventura*, *loc. cit.*, p. 75. Compare *La Sconfitta di Montaperto tratta dalle cronache raccolte da Domenico Aldobrandini* (also in the *Miscellanea* of G. Porri), p. 23.—Since a very scholarly and, as a rule, extremely accurate writer has fallen into the error of translating *benda*, in this connection, by the English word "garters," it may be well to emphasize the fact that *benda* is equivalent to the Latin *vitta* or *taenia*. Like the *vitta*, it was an *insigne pudoris*, worn only by virtuous women, and it was conse-

girl of twenty-one, by name Betta, who, after the battle of Camollia, "returned to Siena, leading with her a prisoner, whom she had taken and bound and laden with a barrel of wine, compelling him, at the point of her dagger, to walk whithersoever she would."[1]

Nor were divine manifestations wanting. Warriors clad in white raiment were seen fighting on behalf of the victors; the picture of Our Lady, above the Antiporto of Camollia, was illuminated with an unearthly radiance; and, as in 1260, the mantle of the Virgin, in the form of a cloud, spread itself over the city and the combatants.[2]

In the face of these portents no one could doubt the celestial interposition; and the Sienese, in the hour of their triumph, did not forget to return thanks to her who had succoured them. Moreover, there may still be seen in the Church of San Martino, the patron of soldiers, a painting by Giovanni di Lorenzo Cini, who himself took part in the battle, representing the miraculous intervention of the Madonna on behalf of her faithful city.

IV

The Sienese helped in the great siege which restored the Medici to Florence, in 1530; and, six years later, welcomed the Emperor with wild enthusiasm as he passed through their city.[3] Nor were they content with such fleeting demonstrations of regard as triumphal arches and flower-strewn ways. Within a week after the departure of their

quently held a deadly insult to snatch it from the head or cause it to fall to the ground—*bindam mulieri tollere vel de capite cadere facere.* (See L. ZDEKAUER, *La vita privata, etc., op. cit.*, p. 45; *Il Frammento degli ultimi due libri del più antico Constituto Senese*, v. 216, in the "Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria," vol. iii. p. 85; and *Il Costituto del C. di Siena volgarizzato nel MCCCIX–MCCCX*, Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1903, vol. ii. Dist. v. Rubric 279.)

[1] GIGLI, *Diario Senese* (edition cited), ii. 625.

[2] *Ibidem*, p. 626. The same author, in his *Città diletta di Maria*, says that the Madonna of the Antiporto of Camollia was painted by Simone Martini, the friend of Petrarch, and that the face was that of Madonna Laura.—Compare the "Misc. Stor. Sen.," vol. ii. (1894), p. 3 *et seq.*

[3] See AQUARONE, *Gli Ultimi anni della Storia Repubblicana di Siena* (Siena, Lazzeri, 1869), pp. 125–159; P. VIGO, *Carlo Quinto in Siena* (Bologna, presso Gaetano Romagnoli, 1884).

imperial guest, it was resolved by the *Collegio di Balìa* that a column should be erected in commemoration of the joyful event; *ut* (so runs the record) *ad posteros transeat et a cunctis viatoribus videatur, et erigi unam colunnam cum pilastro in spatium porte nove et porte veteris.*[1]

A column in Siena to the honour of Charles V.! Surely, in the light of subsequent events, no greater incongruity can be conceived. And yet, who shall say? If the Emperor did not prove the *Praesidium Libertatis Nostrae*, which the applauding multitudes proclaimed him that April afternoon, he was at least destined to save the city from the anarchy and violence which had so long oppressed it; and, after all, it is difficult to deny that personal security, equal laws and peace to prosper in, afford more true liberty to the individual, even under *il governo d'un solo*, than all that fierce fever of Communal freedom, which, in those old days, made it so terribly easy a thing for a citizen to oversleep himself some fine morning, and, on his awakening, to find the government changed, the gutters running blood, and the streets piled with hacked and battered corpses.

This, however, the Sienese could not understand; and when, a few years later, the city was garrisoned with Spanish troops, and Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, having ordered a general disarmament of the people, proposed to build a fortress upon the hill of San Prospero, they absolutely declined to believe that its only object was, as the Emperor assured them, "the conservation of justice, liberty and peace in Siena," or that it constituted, as he declared, "the only efficacious medicine for the disease from which their city suffered."[2]

In vain they besought him to respect their ancient liberties. The work was begun, the necessary materials being obtained by the destruction of those towers with which, at that period, Siena was so thickly studded that, as an old writer quaintly remarks, *la città pareva un canneto.*[3] Charles

[1] *Deliberazioni di Balìa del 3 Maggio 1536;* "Misc. Stor. Senese," vol. iii. (1895), p. 75.

[2] With regard to these events the reader may profitably consult E. ARMSTRONG, *The Emperor Charles V.* (London, Macmillan, 1902), vol. ii. pp. 282 *et seq.*

[3] UGURGIERI, *Le Pompe Sanesi*, part ii. p. 307. It would, however, be a mistake to

replied to the expostulations and prayers of the ambassador that, "if the towers did not suffice, the palaces also should be levelled to the ground and used for the building of his fortress."

Then, those poor Sienese, disarmed and helpless, overawed by a brutal and licentious soldiery, and knowing not whither to turn for aid, resolved, in their terror and despair, once more to dedicate their city to the Queen of Heaven.

On the 15th December 1550, the *Signoria* betook themselves to the Duomo, "without sound of trumpets or other pomp," clad all in violet, and wearing their cloaks, as on Holy Friday. Before them went two pages, one bearing the banner of Our Lady, and the other a silver basin, wherein were all the keys of the city. And all the people followed them. Then, high mass having been sung without sound of organ or other instrument of music, the creed said and the offertory taken, the Magnificent Prior, laying aside his cloak, bare-footed and bare-headed, approached the high altar, whereon stood the picture of Our Lady of Grace, brought thither from its chapel in order that in all things the ceremony might conform with that *que facta fuit tempore sconficte Montis Aperti*.[1] And there, upon his knees, he presented the keys to Misser Antonio Bensi, the Canon who that morning sang the mass, beseeching the Virgin to have mercy upon them, in these words:

"Mother of God Immaculate, Our Lady and Advocate,

suppose that Don Diego reduced Siena to her present comparatively towerless state. We have the testimony of RICHARD LASSELS, who wrote his *Voyage of Italy*, in the 17th century, that, in his day, Siena had "many high towers in it"; while the edition of the first part of the *Historie di Siena* of ORLANDO MALAVOLTI, which was published in 1574 by Luca Bonetti, was embellished by a frontispiece representing the city as still full of towers. It may be remarked that, although this edition has now become extremely rare, the frontispiece has been reproduced in the "Misc. Stor. Sen.," vol. ii. (1894), p. 17, and in my "*Ensamples*" *of Fra Filippo, op. cit.*

[1] It may be well to note, in passing, that, at the time of the dedication of 1550, the high altar was the same as that which we see to-day, and occupied the same position; being flanked by the same bronze angels and surmounted by the same elaborate tabernacle.

The old altar was pulled down in 1506; and at the same time the picture of Duccio was divested of its ornamental framework and transferred to the Opera del Duomo. Later on, it was sawed in two and brought back to the Cathedral, half being placed in the Cappella del Sagramento and half in Cappella di S. Ansano. (Compare J. L. BEVIR, *Guide to Siena and San Gimignano*, London, 1885, pp. 80, 82.) It is now in the Opera del Duomo, in the company of discordant modern paintings—a juxtaposition which is "an offence to the good taste of the visitor, and a reproach to that of the Sienese themselves."

if ever in time past Thou didst, with compassionate prayers, move Thy Only Begotten Son to pity toward this Thy city, we beseech Thee to-day, more than in any former time, to intercede with Him on its behalf. For, albeit Thou hast saved it, many a time and oft, from unforeseen dangers and from terrible wars, as on the day of Montaperto, and in that other and last battle of Camollia, yet never heretofore hath it stood in so great peril and necessity as it doth to-day, when its sole benefactor and protector, Charles V., is minded to build in it a fortress. And we, who have neither the power nor the will to resist him in any other wise than through Thy all-prevailing prayers, beseech Thee to plead with Thy beloved Son on our behalf, that He may vouchsafe to endue him (the said Charles) with a more pitiful spirit towards this his most loyal city, which hath never very greatly failed in duty either towards his Majesty or towards the Holy Empire.

"Change, we beseech Thee, this his purpose, whereby our fealty is but ill requited, and which, if carried into effect, must destroy not only our honour and our dignity, but also that dear liberty, which even unto this day we have preserved, under Thy powerful guardianship and merciful protection.

"Behold, Virgin Most Holy, the hearts and minds of this Thy Sienese people, who, repenting them of all their past sins, beseech Thee, kneeling and prostrate before Thy throne, to have mercy upon them, and to save them from the proposed fortress. And I, Thy servant and the least of Thy servants, in the name of the Republic, and by the decree of the most Honourable Senate, make unto Thee an everlasting vow, that so long as, by reason of Thy intercessions, our dear and sweet liberty shall endure, so long shall there be wedded yearly, at the public cost, fifty poor maidens, with a dower of twenty-five florins each, to Thy honour and glory.

"Anew I consecrate to Thee our city; anew I present to Thee, who art all powerful to guard them, those keys which have been entrusted to our keeping.

"Open therewith the Imperial heart; remove from it the

unnecessary project; and dispose it rather to protect and succour us, who have ever been, and ever will be, the faithful vassals of Cæsar and of the Holy Empire. Finally, we pray Thee, enable this Thy people utterly to forget every injury which hath been done unto them, and unite Thou them in eternal peace and concord, that, so united and in amity with one another, they may be able, with quiet minds, to serve God and Thee and his Imperial Majesty, and may for ever enjoy their cherished liberty."

Thus prayed the Magnificent Prior, and when he had finished, Misser Antonio Bensi, the Canon, replied after this manner, turning himself toward the people:

"Your great and profound humility, Illustrious Signori, shows itself to be founded in faith, hope and charity. Your faith ye have shown by your desire to unite yourself in spirit with Our Saviour, receiving His most holy body; your hope, by the consignment and restitution of the keys of your city to the Most Glorious Queen of Heaven; your charity, by your vow touching the marriage of the young maidens so long as your free Republic shall endure.

"We, although unworthy of so high an office, accept your vows and oblations in the name of the Ever Blessed Christ and of His Immaculate Mother; and we remind you that faith without works is dead; that he who trusts in God with all his heart shall be as immovable as Mount Zion; and that charity knits us to God. Be ye, therefore, of lively faith, of firm hope and of ardent charity, that so your desire may be fulfilled and your city preserved in true liberty, to the honour of God and of the Immaculate Virgin, Our Advocate, and of all Christian people."

Then, after they had communicated, and the Mass was finished, Ser Giusto, priest and sacristan of the Duomo, beckoned to the Lord Prior that he should go and take the keys which had been presented: wherefore, together with the Captain of the People and the other Magistrates, he drew nigh unto the high altar, and Misser Antonio restored to him the said keys in the said basin, bidding him guard them well. So returned they to the Palazzo, even as they had come.

On the morning of the day following, the same being Tuesday the sixteenth day of December, the Illustrious Signori, the Captain of the People, the Standard-bearers, the Conservatori and Assistenti, the Judges, the Balìa, and all the other Magistrates of the City, betook them to the Cathedral Church. Before them went the banner of Our Lady; and after it were carried, in a silver basin, a silver crown, most beautiful to see, and, wrapped in a cloth of white taffeta, the fifty warrants (*decreti*), to be presented to the fifty damsels, for their marriage dowries of twenty-five florins each. They were all clad in fair apparel; and the trumpeters blew upon the trumpets; and they went to hear high Mass, sitting in their accustomed seats. When the Creed was said, the Lord Prior, at the time of the offertory, offered before the high altar the said crown, which the officiating priest received with befitting words, in the name of Our Lady. Then the fifty damsels, who had been in the Chapel of S. Giovanni, came and kneeled down before the high altar. They were all clad in white, with garlands of olive upon their heads. To each of them the notary of the Concistoro presented her warrant; and there they abode until the Mass was finished. Thereafter, the fraternities and all the religious orders passed in procession through the city, bearing before them the picture of Our Lady of Grace,[1] under a canopy. And the fifty damsels followed after, and the Signoria and all the magistrates, together with all the people of the city (*con l'universo populo de la città*). And, when the said procession was finished, the Signoria returned to their Palace, and there they dined in state, together with the Standard-bearers, the Assistenti, the Conservatori, and the other persons whom it was usual to invite upon such occasions.[2]

Now, while these things were being done in Siena, Don Diego was in Rome; and when he heard thereof he was

[1] It seems that this picture was originally much larger. At any rate, we know that it was cut down in the year 1455, by the order of the Government, *ita comode portari possit ad processionem* (ARCHIVIO DI STATO IN SIENA, *Delib. Concist., ad annum*, at c^ta^ 17. "Misc. Stor. Sen.," vol. i. (1893), p. 11).

[2] A. TOTI, *op. cit.*, "Votazione V."

moved to anger, and wrote to the Signoria that he hoped before long to present to the Virgin the keys of the new fortress, upon which, at that time, about a thousand Spanish workmen were labouring.

In January, three more companies of soldiers arrived from Lombardy; and, at the end of the following month, the new envoys who had been sent to the Emperor returned with the tidings that he was immovable in his purpose. The *Consiglio Generale* were in despair, and knew not what to do or whither to turn for aid. With sobs and tears the whole assembly fell upon their knees, beseeching the Virgin to succour them, vowing processions and prayers and offerings of every sort. That same night, bands of disciplinants and flagellants went through the city scourging themselves. The half crazy Brandano—the *pazzo di Cristo*, as he was called—wandered about, prophesying and invoking the wrath of God upon the Spaniards; and the people, wrought up to a frenzy of grief and superstition, looked every day to see some miracle wrought on their behalf.

But the heavens were dumb. The work of destruction went on; tower after tower was levelled to the ground, and the hated fortress rose stark and grey, overlooking all the city.

For seventeen long months, Siena lay supine under the heel of the oppressor. Then, in a moment, all was changed. The ancient Republic remembered her youthful prowess, and, shaking off her lethargy, rose and burst her bonds, and fought and triumphed as of old. After three days of furious conflict, the Spaniards were driven ignominiously from the city; and the great black and white banner of the Commune once more floated from the Mangia tower over a free Siena. The abhorred fortress was razed to the ground; men, women and children labouring to demolish it with such ardour that, as an eye-witness has told us, "more of it was destroyed in an hour than could have been rebuilt in the space of four months." Thirty great cannons, which the fugitives had left behind them, were ranged as trophies in front of the Palazzo Pubblico, and the picture

of Our Lady of Grace was borne in solemn procession through the streets.[1]

V

It is related that, when the Spanish garrison departed from Siena, Misser Ottavio Sozzini saluted their captain, Don Franzese, and said: "Signor Don Franzese, whether we be friends or whether we be foes, this much I say, that in good sooth thou art a gallant gentleman, and, in all such things as touch not the welfare of the Republic, Ottavio Sozzini is ever thy friend and servant." Whereto, with tears in his eyes, Don Franzese made answer: "Much do I thank thee for thy kindly thoughts of me; nor will I ever give thee reason to think otherwise." Then, turning to the other Sienese youths who stood by, he said: "Valorous gentlemen, verily ye have done a great feat of arms to-day; but be ye prudent in time to come. Ye have offended too great a man."

Words which proved all too true; for this was the last triumph of Siena; and, in 1554, the armies of Charles and of Cosimo closed around the devoted city.

I have no intention of describing the death throes of the Republic. Traces of the devastations wrought by the Spaniards are still visible in the neighbourhood of the city; and, even to-day, the name of Marignano is one of evil augury in Sienese ears. Thinking to break the courage of the besieged by sheer brutality, he perpetrated such revolting cruelties that his very soldiers could scarcely be forced to carry out his orders. The trees about Siena seemed to bear dead men rather than leaves; the weaklings and children, who were thrust forth from the gates, in order that what little food remained might be given to the warriors, were ruthlessly slaughtered; and peasants who were found hiding some scanty fragment of bread were burned to death over slow fires.

The battle of Scannagallo determined the fate of the

[1] In connection with the destruction of the fortress, two of the Tavolette Dipinte, of the year 1552, are interesting, both for their topographical particulars, and for the accustomed allegory of the protecting Madonna.

Commune; but, however greatly we may blame the recklessness of Piero Strozzi, he at least fought valiantly, and the result might well have been otherwise but for the treachery of the French cavalry, who, bought with Spanish gold, fled without striking a blow.

Meglio dei vili cavalli di Franza
Le nostre donne fecero provanza,

sang the Sienese. And assuredly never have women showed themselves more capable of heroic deeds than did the ladies of Siena. But neither courage, nor valour, nor self-sacrifice availed anything, and, in the spring of 1555, the garrison was forced to capitulate.

During the last days of that great siege, when, wasted with toil and hunger, "those who might not die, greatly envied those who were dead," the people turned yet once more to the Madonna, and, on the 24th March, again dedicated to her their city and its contado, according to the ancient ritual.[1] But, angered, as some said, by the merciless expulsion of the non-combatants—*le bocche inutili*—Our Lady refused to hearken, and, little more than a month later, the end came—and the Republic of Siena was no more.

Since then nearly three centuries and a half have passed away, but the Sienese have not forgotten. They rejoiced, as at the consummation of a vengeance long deferred, when the great Republic of the West annihilated the once mighty navies of Spain; and the modern Florence is hardly more beloved than she was four hundred years ago, when, by manifest proof of answered prayer and of celestial interposition, Siena knew herself "the city beloved of Mary," and accounted the Florentines and the Medicean Pope as equally the enemies of the Almighty and of her free Commune.

[1] A. Toti, *op. cit.*, "Votazione VI."

CHAPTER THE THIRD

OF THE FESTIVAL OF OUR LADY OF AUGUST[1]

OF the numerous religious festivals which are celebrated in Siena, that of Mid-August, in honour of the Assumption of the Virgin, has ever been the most important.

Then, during all the days of the free Commune, homage was solemnly paid to Our Lady by the city and by its contado. Then, too, was held a great fair, which lasted for seven days—*tribus diebus ante festum Sancte Marie de Augusto et tribus diebus post*[2]—whereof a faint and far-off echo may yet be heard, on the 12th and 13th of August, when the contadini drive their long-horned oxen to the cattle-market, in the Piazza d'Armi, outside the Porta Camollia. And then was run the most splendid and solemn Palio of all the year.

Preparations for the coming festivities commenced early in July, when a commission of prominent citizens was appointed to carry out the instructions of the Signoria, in order that the day commemorative of the beatification of the Mother of God and *Advocata civitatis Senarum* might be celebrated with befitting pomp. And so great was the desire displayed by successive magistracies to excel their predecessors in magnificence and ostentation, that, finally, it was found necessary to prohibit the expenditure of more than

[1] For the purposes of this chapter I have availed myself largely of the invaluable work of Professor C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, *Costumi Senesi nella seconda metà del secolo XIV* (Siena, Tip. dell' Ancora, 1881)—a book which no visitor to Siena should fail to read.

[2] *Il Constituto del C. di Siena dell' anno 1262* (edition ZDEKAUER), Dist. i. Rubric 195, p. 80; *Il Costituto del C. di Siena volgarizzato nel 1309–1310* (*op. cit.*), Dist. i. Rubric 212.—In 1309 it was resolved, "to the honour and reverence of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Blessed Virgin Mary His Mother," that no shops should be kept open or merchandise sold on the day of the festival (*Ibidem*, vol. i. pp. 360–361); so that from that date, at any rate, the fair was only held for six days—viz. on the 12th 13th 14th, 16th 17th and 18th of August.

400 lire (equivalent, in modern money, to nearly five thousand francs) over and above the sum of 100 florins which was allowed for the purchase of the palio.[1] "Nevertheless (so runs the resolution) it shall be lawful, for the honouring of the said festival, to spend on fifers, trumpeters and buffoons such amount as shall seem right to our Magnificent *Signori* and *Gonfalonieri Maestri*, according to the number of such persons who shall be employed. And the money, so due to the said fifers, trumpeters and buffoons, shall be paid by the *Camarlingo di Biccherna* personally, into the hands of them, the said fifers, trumpeters and buffoons."[2]

On the first Saturday of August,[3] the *banditore* of the Commune, clad in a red tunic, with the arms of the Republic on collar and sleeve, rode through the city, announcing, to the sound of the trumpet, the approach of the annual fair; and, from day to day, as the month advanced, the good people of Siena beheld an ever-increasing number of strange faces on their streets, already thronged with foreign merchants and their attendants.

On the 7th the Campo was cleared of the piles of stone and brick from which, during the latter years of the 13th and a large part of the 14th century, it can hardly ever have been free, since in those days the work on the Palazzo Pubblico and the Torre del Mangia was steadily progressing.[4]

The festival itself began on the morning of the fourteenth. At the appointed time, the Priori, with the other magistrates of the Republic, left the Palazzo Pubblico and betook themselves to the Cathedral, ranging themselves in order as their names were called by the notary of the *Concistoro*. They were preceded by trumpeters wearing the blue and green livery of the *Signoria*, and by servitors of the Palace, who cleared a passage for the procession through the assembled multitudes. These were followed by the palio, borne on high above a great car, which, according to popular tradition,

[1] At first, as we shall see, the palio only cost 50 lire. In all matters of pomp and display the magistrates of the Commune were tempted to an ever increasing expenditure. Compare, for another instance, my *Pictorial Chronicle of Siena*, *op. cit.*, p. 34 note.

[2] R. ARCH. DI STATO IN SIENA, *Tesoretto*, f. 203.

[3] *Costituto del C. di Siena volgarizzato, etc.*, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 178, Dist. i. Rubric 212.

[4] *Ibidem*, vol. ii. p. 30, Dist. iii. Rubric 40, and compare Rubric 53, p. 34.

was none other than the *carroccio* of Florence, captured at the battle of Montaperto.[1] Next came those who carried the *cero istoriato*—a votive candle painted with Scriptural or allegorical scenes, having a more or less direct reference to the Madonna.[2] Lastly, accompanied by the banners of the Commune, of the People, and of the Terzi, marched the *Signori*, the *Rettori forestieri*, the *Vessilliferi*, the *Consiglieri*, and all the other officials of the Republic.[3] Each man bore in his hand a candle, which he was bound to offer as a private citizen; and, on reaching the Duomo, all this mass of wax was deposited with the person appointed to receive it. Then, on the conclusion of the religious services, the procession reformed and returned to the Palazzo Pubblico, in the same order as it had come.

According to the *Diario* of Gigli, the cortège was further increased by the presence of the horses which were destined to take part in the palio of the following day, and which were led to the door of the Cathedral to be blessed. This was, however, I conceive, an innovation of comparatively modern times, and probably originated about the middle of the 17th century.[4]

The *Signoria* having returned to their Palace, the

[1] As a matter of fact, the Florentine *carroccio* was probably broken up and burned, shortly after its capture. Such was the usual custom; and its almost sacred character, combined with the fact that every injury and affront which was offered to it, was considered as touching the honour of the city to which it belonged, naturally rendered it the subject of studiously offered indignities. "The coverings were dragged in the mire, the standard cut down, and the car itself hacked to pieces, the banner alone being preserved to adorn the triumph. In one of the small rival contests, a Guelph *carroccio* was taken by the Ghibellines, and the Guelph annalist bitterly complains that the 'insolent' foe slew the oxen, roasted them with the wood of the *carroccio*, and offered to the captives a portion of the repast."—See M. A. MIGNATY'S *Sketches of the Historical Past of Italy*; and compare C. PAOLI'S edition of the *Libro di Montaperti*, *op. cit.*, pp. xliii, xliv.

[2] GIGLI, *Diario* (second edition), ii. 104.—With regard to these candles, it may be interesting to compare the Pisan celebration of the same festival. There, upon the *ceri* offered by the Anziani were placed *fimbria et pennones*; while the candles generally were *istoriati* and painted, made *de bona cera, cum fustibus, tabulis, et castello sive leone et cum banneris*. The *cero* offered by the Console de' Mercanti was "tutto quanto fiorito con due mele sopra dipinte, e *cum torcellis albis intus*."—See *Una Festa Popolare a Pisa* by P. VIGO, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 *seq.*, and Document xi.

[3] C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

[4] Among the *Deliberazioni di Balìa* of August 1666, we read:—

"Ordenormo al Coadiutore Vaselli che facci imbasciata al Cancelliere di Biccherna che facci sapere a tutti li Barbireschi che la vigilia dell' Assuntione della Beatissima Vergine Nostra Signora sieno con i lor Barberi doppo l'Illustrissima Signoria con el torchietto conforme l'ordini."

compagnie or *parocchie* of the city, one by one, to the sound of music, and each with its proper banner displayed, proceeded to the Cathedral; because every inhabitant of the city and the suburbs,[1] save only the poor, the sick and those who had grave personal enmities,[2] was obliged, on the Vigil of the Assumption, to offer to the Opera del Duomo a wax candle, the weight whereof was proportioned to the *lira*[3] of the individual who presented it. In the 13th century offerings of candles were also obligatory for the festivals of St Boniface, and of St George, who, after the battle of Montaperto, was considered as one of the protectors of the city; while it would appear that, about the year 1234, candles were regularly presented on the vigils of St Nicholas and St Andrew, and at the feast of Candlemas (*S. Maria Candelora*). Possibly the latter offerings had no other sanction than that of custom, but it is beyond question that those which were made on the 14th of August were compulsory.

In fact the Costituto of 1310 explicitly provides that "each and every person, to whatsoever *contrada* or registration district (*libra*) he may belong, who dwells in the city of Siena, be held, and is obliged to go on the Vigil of St Mary the Virgin of the Month of August, to the said church

[1] "*della città, dei borghi e dei sobborghi.*"—In Siena, after the suburbs had been enclosed within the walls of the city, they were still known as the *borghi*. Thus Agnolo di Tura, in a well-known passage, speaks of the "*borghi dentro alla citta*" (*Cronica Sanese*, in MURATORI, xv. 124). At the northern end of the town, for example, the *Arco Antico di S. Donato* seems to have divided the city proper from the suburbs. On one side thereof was the *città*, on the other the *borgo di Camollia*.—See P. ROSSI, *Siena Colonia Romana* (Siena, Lazzeri, 1897), p. 49; and compare, for a similar state of things, S. BONGI, *Bandi Lucchesi del secolo decimoquarto* (Bologna, Romagnoli, 1863), p. 269.

[2] So C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, *op. cit.*, p. 210. In the *Costituto* of 1309–1310, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 65, the last exception is not mentioned: "Excetti li povari et li gravati da Dio et d'infermità." The later addition is a notable indication of the increase of factional rancour. Compare, however, the "exceptis pauperibus et *hodio* vel infirmitate gravatis," of the older statute.

[3] According to Andrea Dei, the first *Lira* was "made" in 1202 (*Cronica Sanese* in MURATORI, xv. 19); but, in a manuscript chronicle of Agnolo di Tura del Grasso, preserved among the Sienese Archives, the date of the institution of the *Lira* is given as 1198, in which year "e' Sanesi fêro la prima Lira che mai più era stata"; while, in 1202, "si cominciò a pagare gravezza per la Lira, nuovamente fatta in dietro." (R. ARCH. DI STATO IN SIENA, *Croniche Sanesi*, MSS. T. 1, pp. 96, 100.) The *Lira* or *Estimo* was based upon the principle of assessment, each individual being taxed according to the declared value of his property. The great authority on the subject of the Sienese *Lira* is, of course, L. BANCHI, who, in 1879, published his well-known treatise on the *Lira o Estimo*, in the *Atti della R. Accademia dei Fisiocritici di Siena*, series iii. vol. ii. (Siena, Tip. dell' Ancora).

(to wit, the Duomo), in company with those of the contrada wherein he dwells; and, although he may be registered for the purpose of taxation in another registration district (*allibrato in altra libra*), yet every man shall go with those of the contrada in which he dwells. And he who shall do otherwise shall be punished with a fine of xx soldi in money; and the persons aforesaid shall go to the said church, with candles and without torches, by day and not by night. . . ."[1]

These processions lasted the greater part of the day; and, thereafter, while the principal officials of the Commune, to the number of ninety-seven, banqueted in the Sala del Consiglio,[2] the populace danced in the piazze, and held high revelry throughout the city.

The next morning, the magistracy, with great pomp, once more betook themselves to the Duomo, and, on their return to the Palazzo, the processions recommenced; but no longer the inhabitants of the city. For now it was the *massari*[3] of the subject towns, who, in the names of their respective communities, and according to the terms of their submissions to the Republic, bore offerings of candles, ornamented and plain,[4] and of palii, some of which were of the costliest.

[1] *Costituto del C. di Siena volgarizzato, etc., op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 64–65, Dist. i. Rubric 36. Compare also *Il Frammento degli ultimi due Libri del più antico Constituto senese*, published in the "Bullettino Sen. di St. Patria," vol. i. (1894), p. 149, Dist. v. Rubrics 36–37.

[2] As to the banquets of the Signoria, see C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, *op. cit.*, p. 149. In the "Misc. Stor. Senese," vol. iii. (1895), p. 177, is printed the bill paid, in 1538, for the dinner of the Signori del Collegio della Balia, on the 15th August of that year. With regard to the cuisine of the Sienese in the 13th and 14th centuries, consult *La vita privata dei Senesi nel dugento* by L. ZDEKAUER, pp. 25–32, and authorities there cited. Compare also A. COUGNET, *I piaceri della Tavola* (Torino, Bocca, 1903), parte ii. p. 149 *seq.*

[3] "Massari si dicono in molte ville e terre del contado di Siena i priori o i primati del luogo." — POLITI, *Diz. Tosc.*, p. 419. The more general sense, however, appears to be "heads of families," "householders." In the *Costituto* of 1309–1310, Dist. i. Rubric 52, it is provided that the "massari," sent by Montereggione to the festival of St Mary of August, should be "di quelli e' quali più cittadineschi et mellio paiano, et li quali abiano cittadineschi costumi." Compare, for the various meanings of the word, the glossaries at the end of volumes i. and iii. of the *Statuti Senesi* in the "Collezione di opere inedite o rare dei primi tre secoli della lingua," under the heads "massarizia," "massaro."

[4] "Anco che ciascuna comunanza del contado et giurisditione di Siena sia tenuta et debia offerire nel dì della festa de la beata Maria Vergine ne la mattina, tante libre di cera in ceri, in quante centenaia di libre di denari la comunanza è allibrata al comune di Siena. In questo modo et ordine, cioè, che de le tre parti de la detta cera si faccia uno cero folliato, secondo che più bello fare si potrà; et del rimanente di tutta la detta cera si facciano tanti ceri quanti fare si potranno. Ma pertanto che ciascuno cero sia d'una libra, et portinsi et offarinsi all' uopera sopra detta per tanti massari quanti saranno li ceri sopradetti."—*Costituto del C. di Siena volgarizzato, etc., op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 66.

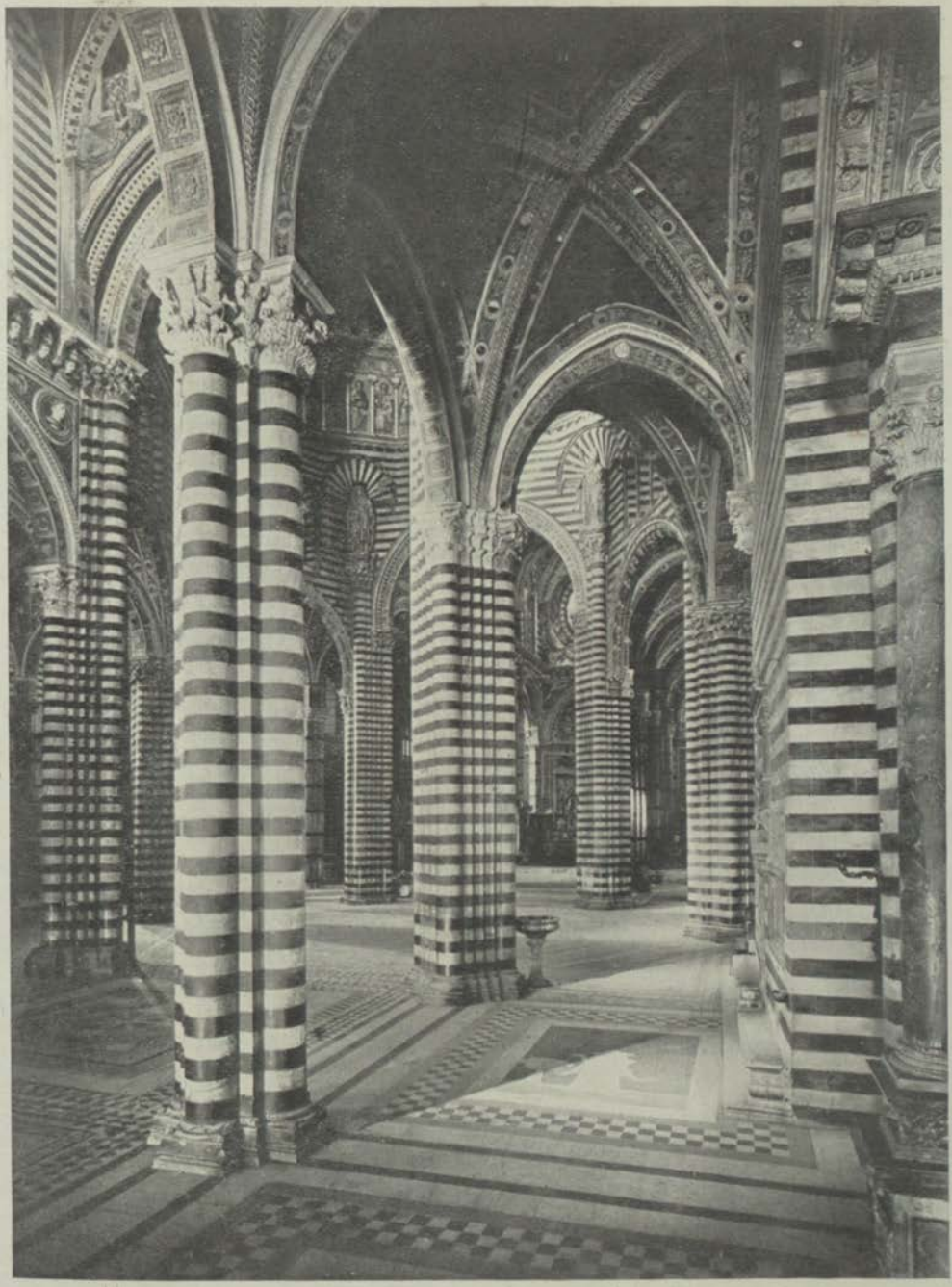
Thus, in 1359, the city of Cortona undertook to send annually, for thirty-five years, a palio of scarlet lined with miniver, together with a horse with scarlet housings. Chianciano, the Counts of Giuncarico, the Farnesi, Montalcinello, Montepulciano, Gerfalco, Radicofani, the Abbey of S. Salvatore, Cotono, Monticello, and other towns and other Seigniors, were obliged to furnish palii of the value of from ten to a hundred florins of gold, which were carried to the Cathedral and hung from iron rings, placed there for the purpose. Other communities were only compelled to pay certain annual sums, together with a candle; while others, yet again, brought money, palii and candles. For example, the Abbey of San Salvatore, besides the palio and a *cero fiorito*, paid 400 florins; Casole 40 lire and a candle of 200 pounds; Grosseto 400 florins, by way of tribute, and 50 florins of gold in wax; Montalcino 30 lire and a candle of as many pounds; Massa 1700 florins, without counting the wax. And so, in like manner, all the tributary towns paid proportionately according to the *tassagione*.[1]

In those days, it is said that, at the second pillar to the right, as one enters the Duomo, there stood a marble pulpit, from which were summoned the tributary cities in the order of their submission.[2]

Verily, from the 13th century onward, it must have been a goodly sight to behold, filing off among the poor *massari*, and answering to the call of the Camarlingo dell' Opera del Duomo, the Counts of Santa Fiora, the Seigniors of Campiglia, of Baschi and of Sciarpenna, the Cacciaconti, the Cacciaguerra, the Ardingheschi, the Aldobrandeschi, the Pannocchieschi, and the other feudatories of the Republic —Counts Palatine, Frank and Longobard barons, of noble blood and ancient lineage, but all of them forced to bow

[1] R. ARCH. DI STATO IN SIENA, *Biccherna; Corredo*, nº. 746; C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, *op. cit.*, pp. 211–212. — It seems almost superfluous to remind the reader that this custom of exacting offerings of candles from tributary towns and seigniors, for the festival of the Assumption, was by no means peculiar to Siena, although there the presentation was made with unusual pomp and circumstance.—RONDONI, *Sena Vetus*, p. 18. Cf. P. VIGO, *op. cit.*, and p. 14 *supra*; L. FUMI, *Codice Diplomatico della Citta d'Orvieto* (Firenze, G. P. Vieusseux, 1884), Doc. xli., lxx., etc.; A. F. GIACHI, *Ricerche storiche volterrane* (edit. of 1887), pp. 78, 79, and Document xi., in the Appendix to part i.

[2] GIGLI, *Diario*, *cit.*, ii. 105.



THE CATHEDRAL OF SIENA

their haughty necks and do reverence to the free Commune, with its upstart aristocracy of traders and of artisans.[1] Moreover, when we recollect that, in the 14th century, the inhabitants of each little community were distinguishable by their special costumes; that the number of subject towns and cities amounted to considerably over two hundred; and that some of them were compelled to send as many as twelve or more *massari* to represent them, we can imagine, if only dimly, what a kaleidoscopic display of colour and of form that thronging multitude must have presented, with its infinite diversities of apparel, varying from the rich silks and velvets of the nobles to the coarse stuffs worn by the *contadini*. Nor can we doubt that every good citizen must have felt his heart swell with pride, as he beheld, in the ever-increasing mountain of candles, heaped up beneath the ample vault of the Sienese temple, an indisputable proof of the power and greatness of his beloved Republic. On that day, as on the preceding one, the *portatori* of the Cathedral were subjected to unusual fatigue, for it has been calculated that, on those two occasions, they had to handle more than 30,000 pounds of wax, which was devoted to the benefit of the Opera del Duomo.[2]

The religious ceremonies being finished, the Signoria gave a second banquet, to which were invited the Vessilliferi Maestri, the Centurioni, and other officials, together with the representatives of Grosseto, Soana, Sarteano, Chianciano, Orbetello, and twenty-four other communities. Upon what grounds the rest were excluded I cannot say.

On the evening of the 15th, the city was illuminated, tar-barrels were lighted in the Piazza; and, between the lofty battlements of the Mangia tower, the ruddy flames of

[1] To complete the picture, it is well to recall the fact that some, at any rate, of the old feudal families would be unrepresented among their peers, reduced to destitution by the new order of things, and excused, as *povari*, from bringing candles. Thus, for example, before the end of the 13th century the once proud Counts of Tintinnano were begging their bread, and glad to receive doles from the Commune. See L. ZDEKAUER, *La "Carta Libertatis" e gli statuti della Rocca di Tintinnano*, in the "Bullettino Sen. di St. Patria," iii. (1896) 361.

[2] C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, *op. cit.*, p. 213.—As to the disposition of these *ceri*, we read: "Et li predetti ceri folliati si debiano ponere et acconciare in alto ne la detta chiesa, si che per uno anno si debiano guardare, et ne la seconda festa si levino et pongansi li nuovi ceri. . . . Et tutti li ceri . . . sieno et essere debiano de la decta uopera Sancte Marie. . . ."—*Costituto del C. di Siena volgarizzato, etc., op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 67.

great torches waved and sputtered in the wind. On the surrounding hills were kindled bonfires, as upon the vigil of St John; while, on far-off Amiata, a mighty pyre flared to heaven in token of her subjection to the Republic.[1] For three days longer the fair continued; then, little by little, the amusements ceased, the jugglers and buffoons received their pay and betook themselves elsewhere, the foreigners left the city, and the good people of Siena returned to their ordinary mode of life.

Such was the festival of Our Lady of Mid-August, which was celebrated at least as early as the year 1200.[2]

In 1310, the General Council resolved that from thence-forward, the occasion should be further honoured by a solemn Palio, to be run annually, in the city of Siena, to the honour and reverence of God and of the Blessed Virgin Mary. *Al nome di Dio, amen.*—So runs the rubric of the Costituto—*Anno Domini Mcccx. Indictione viij, die xvij, del mese di giugno. Lo generale consèllio de la Campana et de' L. per Terzo de la radota del comune di Siena, fue in concordia, volse, stantiò, fermò et riformò . . . che si faccia festa et allegreza, ad onore et reverentia di Dio et de la beata Vergine Maria, ne la città di Siena, ne la festa de la detta Vergine Maria, ogne anno del mese d'agosto d'uno palio di valuta di L. libre di denari; al quale palio si corra solennemente ne la detta città di Siena, secondo che di volontà de l'officio de li signori Nove procedarà et alloro parrà che si convenga. . . . Et le predette cose si comincino a fare del mese d'agosto prossimo che verrà, el quale sarà ne l'anno presente Domini Mcccx; et ad essecutione si mandino. . . .*[3]

This, as far as I am aware, is the earliest mention of the Palio of Mid-August to be found in the Sienese Costituto; but it would be a mistake to suppose that it owed its origin to that enactment. As early as 1238, we find it recorded in the *Libro dei Pretori*, that, during the term of office of the

[1] C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, *op. cit.*, p. 217. The custom is still observed on the evening of the 14th of August.

[2] RONDONI, *Sena Vetus*, p. 18; A. TOTI, *op. cit.*, "Votazione I."; and compare *Il Costituto del C. di Siena volgarizzato, etc.*, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 66, line 9.

[3] *Costituto* cited, Dist. i. Rubric 586.

potestà Pietro Parenzi, a certain Ristoro di Bruno Ciguarde was fined forty soldi *quia cum currisset palium in festo Sancte Maria de Augusto, et fuisset novissimus, non accepit sune*[1] *sicut statutum fuit pro novissimo.* What was precisely his offence is not very clear, but the penalty was by no means a mild one, if we take into consideration the value of the soldo of that period; and it seems that it would have been even more severe, had the amount not been decreased *ex qualitate persone* who was condemned to pay it.[2]

For the rest, it appears that the *nerbate*,[3] which are so vigorously administered on the 2nd of July and the 16th of August by the modern *fantini*, have an ancestry, which, if not noble, is certainly extremely ancient, since it is provided, by the Constituto of 1262, that those *qui currerent eques* shall not be held responsible for the homicide or wounding of a fellow-citizen, provided *predicta maleficia non committerent studiose.*[4]

Where, or precisely at what hour, the Palio was run I do not know; although it is quite certain that, in the early days of the Commune, nobody had conceived the idea of adopting the Campus Fori as a race-course. Later on, when Gigli wrote his *Diario*, it seems that the starting-point was the Monastery of Santuccio, near the Porta Romana, and that the race terminated in the Piazza del Duomo.[5] In the 13th and 14th centuries, however, it was probably often run outside one of the gates of the city, possibly in the great Via Francigena, towards the Porta Camollia. This I deduce from the fact that by the *Statuto* of the year 1337, it was provided that, on the day of the Palio, no one should ride through the city or the suburbs, *nè per alcuna strada dal luogo dove si dava la mossa sino alla città di Siena*[6]—an enactment which shows that the race was run towards the city;

[1] It has been suggested that *sune* is possibly the same as *sunnis*, which in mediæval Latin is equivalent to *obstaculum*, being derived, according to Wendelinus, from the German *sun* or *son*.

[2] ARCH. DI STATO IN SIENA, *Lib. dei Pretori*, 1232–42, at c^ta^ 137.

[3] The word *nerbata* means a blow given with a *nerbo* or whip, made "dal membro dei bovi o vitelli staccato sbucciato e seccato."

[4] Edition ZDEKAUER, v. 191.

[5] *Diario* cited, ii. 110.

[6] See C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

and most likely over a straight course, where the speed and endurance of the horses could be tested. True it is that, in 1310, it was declared that the palio should be run "in the city of Siena," but much was left to the discretion of the Signori Nove, and it may well have been found impracticable.[1] Indeed, what information we possess concerning the condition of the city up to the beginning of the 14th century, is of a character to entirely preclude the notion that the palio could have taken place within its walls. Many even of the principal streets were still so crooked and irregular that it was difficult to traverse them at all, and certainly not on horseback. A good example of the existing state of things may be found in the *Statuto dei Viari*, which provides for the enlargement of the road leading to the Church of the Minor Friars, which, we learn, was so narrow and low that, when the friars came forth to accompany a funeral, they were constrained to lower the cross which they carried before they could pass through it.[2] "In the Valle Piatta is a certain narrow street (where dwells Pennuccio, the baker) which is exceeding dark; and it is said that in that place, in the evening, are done many grievous and dishonest things, and that assassins lie in wait there to fall upon passers-by and to slay them: *ideo* this street shall be closed at both ends and sold to the highest bidder."[3] Names such as *Malfango*, *Pantaneto*, *Malborghetto*, *Malcucinato*, and the like, speak for themselves as to the condition of the thoroughfares to which they were applied; while the fact that the statute permitted the building of *loggiati*, supported upon posts or piles, and overhanging the public highways for a third part of their width, affords some idea as to the conveniences which they offered for equestrian exercise.[4]

[1] It may be noticed that if the race was, in fact, run outside the gates of the city, there would be nothing unusual in the matter. The Ponte alle Mosse was, as we have seen, some distance from Florence (p. 9 *supra*), and the Palio of Verona was run *per la campagna* (p. 12 *supra*); while the Palio of St Bartholomew at Bologna started at the Ponte di Savena, outside the Porta Maggiore (FRATI, *op. cit.*, p. 148).

[2] ARCH. DI STATO IN SIENA, *Statuto dei Viari*, R. xxiiii: "tantum arta quod quando Fratres exinde cum croce transeunt pro aliquo morto sepelliendo, oportet ipsam crucem flectere."

[3] *Statuto dei Viari*, Rubr. cclxviiii.

[4] L. ZDEKAUER, *La vita pubblica dei Senesi nel dugento*, pp. 33–37.—See also the Constituto of 1262, iii. 32: "Quod omnibus sit liberum hedificare super viis comunis."

Moreover, in those days, when everything was done in the streets, what an interruption of all the ordinary avocations of life a palio run through the city would have caused. In the streets they piled up timber for sale; in the streets they loaded their mules; in the streets the tanners hung out their leather to dry; while in the streets also, and preferably in the neighbourhood of the Church of the *Frati Predicatori* and in the Piazza del Campo, the people satisfied certain unmentionable but necessary functions[1]—a habit which the Constituto of 1262 endeavoured to restrain, and not without good reason, when we remember that the swine, which roamed freely through the city for the greater part of the year, were then practically the only scavengers.[2]

In these matters the 14th century was an epoch of rapid progress, and before it ended Siena was, perhaps, not so very different from the Siena of to-day. The long period of peace and prosperity which she enjoyed under the rule of the Nove afforded ample leisure for the beautifying of the city; and, as early as 1310, we find that not only were all the principal streets (*strade*) paved with brick,[3] but there was a well organized system of cleansing them; each citizen being held responsible for the space in front of his house or shop, which he was compelled to sweep every Saturday, under pain of a fine of 12 denari.[4] Later on, it was resolved that

The following addition to Rubr. iii. (p. 276) is suggestive: "Item cum valde sint inutiles vie et strate coperte, et maximum impedimentum prestent transeuntibus, et maxime tempore exercitus et in festivitate beate Marie, statuimus et ordinamus quod strata, que incipit a porta de Stelleregi et vadit usque ad portam de Camollia, debeat esse aperta et scoperta usque ad celum; et strata, que incipit a porta Sancti Mauritii et vadit usque ad portam de Camollia, ad minus pro tertia parte dictarum stratarum, exceptis pontibus et archonibus, factis super stratis, qui non debeant inde propterea elevari vel elevari (*sic*)."

[1] Confronted with the same problem at Perugia, the Government relied rather upon superstition than legislation; and *sub volta Palatii Comunis*, where the nuisance was habitually committed, the magistrates caused to be painted pictures of the Madonna, of S. Lorenzo, of S. Ercolano and of S. Cristoforo, before which a lamp was kept burning at the public expense.—See A. MARIOTTI, *Saggio di Memorie istoriche civili ed ecclesiastiche della Città di Perugia e suo Contado* (Perugia, 1806), tom. i. parte i. p. 22.

[2] L. ZDEKAUER, *La vita privata, etc.*, p. 23. Compare also my "*Ensamplès*" *of Fra Filippo, etc.*, *op. cit.*, chap. ii.—It is true that all these things were forbidden by the Constituto of 1262; but I take it that the very fact of such prohibition satisfactorily proves the anterior existence of the thing or habit prohibited.

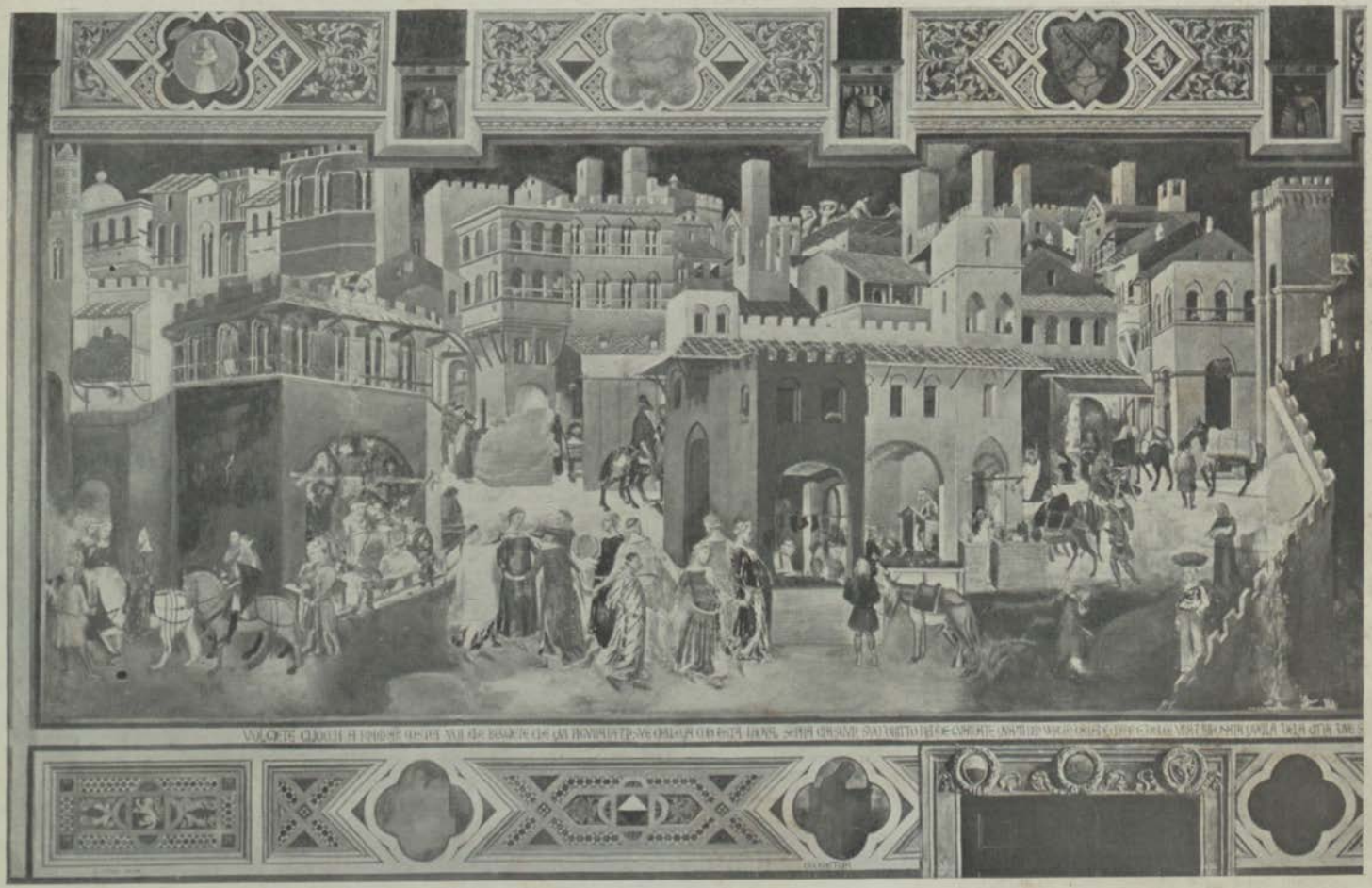
[3] *Costituto del C. di Siena volgarizzato, etc.*, *op. cit.*, Dist. iii. Rubr. 84.—The work of paving the streets had been begun in the 13th century. Compare L. ZDEKAUER, *La vita pubblica, etc.*, p. 32 and note.

[4] *Costituto*, Dist. v. Rubr. 171.

the lesser thoroughfares (*vie*) which opened into the *strade* should be paved also, because from them the mud and filth was carried into the *strade*.[1] At the same time many blind alleys and narrow lanes (*chiassi*) were closed by locked gates, because "many sins are committed therein, and many stinking things are thrown there."[2] Much work was done in straightening the streets[3] (the *strata recta linea* had long been the ideal aimed at); and there was a wholesale removal of *ballatoia*, which, in some cases, darkened all the smaller thoroughfares, and largely increased the danger of fire.[4] The bridges and arches, which, at short intervals, spanned even the main streets, were destroyed when not at a sufficient height above the roadway;[5] and restrictions were placed upon the custom of setting up tables, counters and tents outside the shops.[6] In this connection, we may profitably study the celebrated affresco of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, in the Sala della Pace. The scene which he there depicts may be an ideal one; but it is not impossible that, when he painted it, the "Good Government" of the Nove had, in fact, transformed the old foul, swine-haunted Siena of the first half of the preceding century, to something nearly approaching the city of the picture. Certainly, if such was the case, there would be no longer anything to prevent the running of a palio "ne la detta città di Siena."

That the palio lost none of its religious character as the century grew older, is proved by the following resolution of the General Council, passed in the terrible year 1363, when the pestilence devastated Italy for the second time:—*Item cum potius presenti tempore alio tempore requiratur festum gloriose Virginis Marie ipsamque a senensibus honorari, ut suis intercessionibus a vigenti epytimia liberentur; Igitur si dicto consilio et consiliaris dicti consilii videtur et placet providere et iuridice reformare, quod Camerarius et quactuor provisores Biccherne possint et teneantur emere palium facereque, quod pro eo curratur in proximo festo venturo sancte Marie*

[1] *Costituto*, Dist. iii. Rubr. 84.
[2] *Ibidem*, Dist. iii. Rubr. 74.
[3] *Ibidem*, Dist. iii. *passim*.
[4] *Ibidem*, Dist. iii. *passim*, and especially Rubr. 252.
[5] *Ibidem*, Dist. iii. Rubr. 5.
[6] *Ibidem*, Dist. iii. Rubr. 39, 88.



THE EFFECTS OF THE GOOD GOVERNMENT OF SIENA

AFFRESCO OF AMBROGIO LORENZETTI

de mense Augusti, secundum modum hactenus consuetum, et in eo expendere id quod anno proximo preterito costitit. Similiter facere teneantur et solvere expensas quactuor cerorum, qui corburuntur et in manu angelorum teneantur in maiore ecclesia Senensi captedrali, iuxta tabulam maioris altaris, prout est hactenus osservantum; et faciant continue et quolibet anno aliquo modo obstante et non obstante ecc.[1]

[1] R. Arch. di Stato in Siena, *Cons. generale, ad annum*, fo. 39[t]; "Misc. Stor. Sen.," vol. iv. (1896), p. 202.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH

OF THE PALII OF THE BLESSED AMBROGIO SANSEDONI AND OF SAN PIETRO ALESSANDRINO

> Devils pluck'd my sleeve,
> Abaddon and Asmodeus caught at me.
> I smote them with the cross; they swarm'd again.
> In bed like monstrous apes they crush'd my chest:
> They flapp'd my light out as I read: I saw
> Their faces grow between me and my book;
> With colt-like whinny and with hoggish whine
> They burst my prayer.
>
> ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON, *St Simeon Stylites.*

AFTER the Palio of Our Lady of August, the two most important Sienese palii were those of the Blessed Ambrogio Sansedoni and of San Pietro Alessandrino. The former dates from the beginning of the 14th century, although the events which it commemorated took place more than thirty years earlier. The latter was instituted in 1414.

I

It was the year 1273. Siena was literally full of devils. With only one short interval, she had been excommunicated since 1260. Ghibelline of the Ghibellines, she had incurred the anathemas of Holy Church; now she was Guelf, but too wholly Guelf, and therefore not to be pardoned. Gregory X. had awakened to the fact that Charles of Anjou was likely to prove as dangerous to the Papacy as ever the Hohenstaufen had been, and he refused to remove the interdict until Siena had consented to recall her exiles. This she would not do, and so, deprived of the offices of the Church, she was given over to the spirits of evil. "The city," says an old writer, "was frightfully infested by nocturnal phantoms and dreadful visions, by sounds of demons and horrible infernal furies in

the air, with multitudes of demoniacs, who raged and raved on such wise that the unhappy Siena was above measure afflicted and terrified."[1]

In those days, as I have said, the veil between the seen and the unseen was, at the best, exceeding thin. The gambler who cursed his luck might, at any moment, feel upon his shoulder the grip of demon claws.[2] It behoved the fair lady, who sought to enhance her charms by the arts of the toilet, to stand perpetually on her guard against diabolic treachery;[3] and the merchant, who had taken interest on his money and who was therefore branded by the Church as a usurer, must expect his last hours to be vexed by fiends, who, if he took over long in dying, might become impatient and strangle him.[4] Sometimes the neighbours of such a man would hear, above the howling of the wind and the beating of the rain, a trampling of horsemen, in the narrow streets, and, when they peeped shudderingly through the cracks of their closely shuttered windows, would see a hellish company, "terrible beyond all human imagining," awaiting the end. Lastly, the feeble, naked, wailing ghost would be hurried through the black portals into the black night; the spectre throng would close upon it; shrieks, as of a creature in torture, would ring shrilly through the darkness, and then grow faint and fainter in the distance, as the demons swept it away to hell, "biting and smiting and rending and tearing it."[5] Even when a good man died, the powers of darkness often sought to possess themselves of his corpse, to reanimate it for the damnation of the unwary. Was it not stated in Holy Writ that Michael, the archangel, contended with the devil for the body of Moses? And did not the *Ordo Officiorum Ecclesiæ Senensis* provide that the dead should be buried with the cross upon their breasts, and that holy water should be sprinkled on their tombs, *propter illusiones Dæmonum?*[6]

[1] *Vita del Beato Ambrosio Sansedoni da Siena, dell' ord. de' Predicatori, discepolo del Beato Alberto Magno, e condiscepolo di S. Tomaso d'Aquino, etc.*, da GIVLIO SANSEDONI, *Vescovo di Grosseto.* In Roma, Appresso Giacomo Mascardi, 1611, p. 61.—As to the devil-lore of the period generally, see my "*Ensamples*" *of Fra Filippo, etc.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 257–330.

[2] See *Gli Assempri di Fra Filippo da Siena per cura* del D. C. F. CARPELLINI, being vol. ii. of the "Piccola Biblioteca Senese," Gati, 1864. *Assempri* 13, 60, 61.

[3] *Ibidem, Assempro* 2. [4] *Ibidem, Assempro* 6. [5] *Ibidem, Assempro* 5.

[6] See the *Ordo Officiorum Eccl. Sen.*, edited by TROMBELLI, pp. 487–505.

These were dangers which always threatened, and now Siena was excommunicate, deprived of the offices of Holy Church and given over to the powers of darkness.

Fortunately, in those days, there dwelt in the city a friar of the order of the Predicatori, who, from his youth up, had had much experience of the wiles of the Evil One. Four times had the Devil appeared to the Blessed Ambrogio Sansedoni, in divers forms, and four times had he been ignominiously put to flight.

From his earliest childhood, Ambrogio had led a saintly life, and his biographer assures us that, even in his cradle, he would turn away his eyes from pictures of birds and trees and flowers, to contemplate those which represented religious subjects. A little later, when his companions built houses and pies of dirt (*caselle, cavallucci e simiglianti cose di terra*), he made altars and crosses; "thereafter kneeling before them with clasped hands, which he had first carefully washed, in humility and reverence." While still very young, he found great delight in giving alms, in visiting the sick, in fasting and in prayer. He eschewed all worldly pleasures, and looked forward with joy to entering the religious life.

Now it befel that, ere yet he had assumed the cowl, he was invited to the wedding of a near kinsman; but, knowing that many young women would be present, and that the banquet would be jocund and merry, he preferred to wander forth alone toward the Badia di San Michele a Quarto, there to hold converse with the good monks. With this intent, he had passed out of the Porta Camollia, and was wending his way along the Via Francigena, wrapped in holy meditation, when anon he was aware of an aged friar, grey-haired and of reverend mien, clad in the well-beloved Dominican habit, who first begged alms and then entered into conversation with him, persuading him not to do so unkind a thing as to absent himself from his kinsman's marriage feast, urging that, if he so strictly shunned all temptation, he was like to lose the crown of life which is promised to those who are tried—*Qui probatus est, erit illi gloria æterna.* The good things of this world should, he said, be used though not abused; and the beauty of fair ladies, rightly considered, might well serve

to turn the thoughts of those who looked upon them to the celestial beauty of the Creator Himself; for, as saith the Apostle, the invisible things of God are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made. Thereafter, he hinted that peradventure the life of the cloister might not be the young man's true vocation, and bade him remember the words of St Paul, *Melius est nubere quam uri.*

Then Ambrogio realized with whom he had been speaking. So foul a temptation could only come from one source. His hair arose erect with horror, and, trembling in every limb, he made the sign of the Holy Cross, at the same time pronouncing those words of might which no spirit of evil may withstand: *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.* The baffled demon vanished, and the terrified youth fled amain, never stopping to take breath till he fell, well nigh swooning with fatigue and fear, at the threshold of the Badia a Quarto, still convulsively signing himself, over and over again, with the sacred symbol which had saved him.

A little later, and the Devil tempted him a second time. A favourite resort of Ambrogio's was the Convent of Lecceto, or, as it was then called, Selva di Lago; and one day, as he was passing through the haunted ilex groves which girt the monastery round about, he heard cries of terror and bitter weeping. Moved by lively charity, he pushed his way through the undergrowth in the direction of the piteous sounds, and soon found himself in the presence of two damsels of noble carriage and incredible loveliness, who lamented and made grievous moan. At that sight, he turned back and endeavoured to escape from such parlous company, but the girls entreated him, for the love of God, to abide with them until he had conducted them to a place of safety. Lost in those gloomy woods, they knew not whither to direct their steps, fearing every moment to be assailed by evil men, who might rob them of that which, as virtuous maidens, they held dearer than life itself. There was, however, nothing of the knight-errant about the future Beatus. He was thoroughly impregnated with the monastic horror of women, devoutly believing them to be the chief source of spiritual danger to

man,[1] and, careful of the precious jewel of his own virginity, he was not minded to put himself in the way of temptation for the sake of any lady, howsoever fair and honest. "My company," he said, "is not convenient for you. Hope in God, who will not leave you unprotected. What I can do that I will. I will pray Christ and the Blessed Virgin for you, and will get me to one of the neighbouring villages to seek out some aged and discreet person, more suited than I am to bear you company." Therewith he turned to depart, when anon, one of the girls caught him by his cloak and begged him not to leave them. Upon that, he became suspicious, and, fearing that she was not what she seemed, cried aloud in terror, "Lord Jesus Christ, my Saviour, deliver me from the enemy!" As he spake he made the sign of the Cross; and, in an instant, the two damsels vanished away. Ambrogio fell on his knees, and with streaming eyes and hands raised toward heaven, gave thanks to God for so great a deliverance. "From that hour," says his biographer, "by reason of the abhorrence which he felt for that diabolical temptation, he ever avoided all women, and held their conversation, yea and the very sight of them, in fear and loathing."

On the 16th day of April, 1237, that being his seventeenth birthday, Ambrogio, in spite of the opposition of his family, assumed the habit of St Dominic. A few years later, his superiors, seeing his great aptitude for theological study, sent him to the University of Paris. On his journey thither, accompanied by other friars, the Devil appeared to him for the third time, assuming the form of a hermit, and endeavouring to persuade him to return to the secular life. The sign of the Cross again put the Tempter to flight. He, however, left behind him so intolerable a stench that, although

[1] See herein my "*Ensamples*" *of Fra Filippo, etc., op. cit.*, pp. 131–132, and 136 note. —Later on, however, all this was changed. The unnatural vices of the Renaissance brought about a violent reaction; and, in the 15th and 16th centuries, love of women and commerce with women was regarded with approval by the strictest moralists. Love poems and love stories were encouraged and praised. No man was blamed for begetting illegitimate children or for keeping concubines; while even in the pulpit the beauty and grace of women were extolled to the skies.—See *Bandi Lucchesi del Secolo decimoquarto, etc., per cura* di SALVATORE BONGI (*op. cit.*), p. 380; and compare *Le prediche volgari di S. Bernardino da Siena, dette nella piazza del Campo l'anno MCCCCXXVII ora primamente edite da* L. BANCHI (Siena), vol. ii. p. 108, *et passim.*

VITA
DEL BEATO AMBROSIO. SANSEDONI DA SIENA.

Dell'ord. de' Predicatori discepolo del Beato ALBERTO Magno, e condiscepolo di S. TOMASO d' Aquino.

Raccolta dagli Autori descritti nelle notationi al Martirologio Romano il dì xx. di Marzo, nel quale è posto il detto Beato, e da altri gravi Scrittori segnati nella carta seguente.

DA GIVLIO SANSEDONI VESCOVO DI GROSSETO.

All' Ill.mo & R.mo Sig.r Card. D'Ascoli.

IN ROMA
Appresso Giacomo Mascardi. 1699.
Con licenza de i Superiori e cō Privilegio di N. S. Paolo V.

Ambrogio was not affected by it, it nearly poisoned the other friars, who, up to that moment, had not suspected the imposture.

For many years thereafter, Fra Ambrogio was unmolested by the fiend. He studied in Paris under Albertus Magnus, the greatest thinker of his age, and St Thomas of Aquin was his fellow-pupil. He became a mighty preacher, and was entrusted by the Pope with important missions to Germany and to Bohemia, where the heretical sects of the Bogomilians and Waldenses had already taken deep root—a veritable *Domini canis*, and doing just such work as we see depicted in the affreschi of the Spanish Chapel. More than once, while he was preaching, his hearers beheld a white dove descend from heaven and fly to his right ear, where she stationed herself until he had finished his discourse. The Pope offered him a bishopric, and so great was his fame that he might well have aspired to the highest ecclesiastical honours. He, however, steadfastly refused all advancement, preferring to remain a simple friar. Herein the Devil saw his opportunity, and appeared to him for the last time, in the form of a pilgrim who sought to move him to accept the vacant bishopric, laying much stress upon the need of holy men in the offices of the Church, and rebuking him for resistance to the Pope's will. Upon this occasion, the snare was so skilfully laid, that Fra Ambrogio suspected nothing until the fiend, seeing that he could not prevail, gave up the argument in disgust and vanished.

With so large and exceptional an experience of the wiles of the Evil One, Ambrogio Sansedoni was the very counsellor whom the excommunicated Sienese had need of. He advised them to make trial of the weapon which he had himself found so efficacious, and bade them affix waxen crosses—*croci di cera benedètte*—to the doors of their houses, upon sight of which, he assured them, the fiends would fear to enter. The relief thus afforded is said to have given rise to a custom which has lasted even to our day, and the priests of Siena still bless the houses of the faithful,

sprinkling holy water and distributing wax crosses at Eastertide.[1]

Nor did the good offices of the Saint end here. By his exhortations he moved the people to repentance. The Ghibellines, who had languished in prison since the surrender of Montepertuso, in 1271, were at last released, and ambassadors were sent to Charles of Anjou, to beg him to withdraw his opposition to the papal demands. Ambrogio himself undertook to plead with Gregory on behalf of his fellow-citizens, and his eloquence prevailed to obtain the removal of the interdict. In memory of this event, the Blessed Ambrogio is always represented as holding in his hands the City of Siena, which he thus delivered from the spirits of evil.[2]

The good news was welcomed with the wildest demonstrations of joy and gratitude. In a life of the Beatus, which is to be found in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, and which is said to have been written by four of his contemporaries, we read: *Perveniens itaque vir sanctus Senas cum apostolicis litteris, factæ sunt in populo non parvæ repræsentationes et processiones solemnes, cum campanarum festivo sonitu et missarum celebrationibus. Singulis quoque annis, eo die quo servus Dei Ambrosius urbem est ingressus, bravium pro cursu equorum decernitur, cum repræsentatione solemni; quæ omnia ad diem transitus viri Dei postmodum sunt translata.*[3] And, although this passage is certainly an interpolation,[4] there is, perhaps, no inherent impossibility

[1] Compare GIGLI, *Diario* cited, i. 465. "In questa settimana terminate le feste, sogliono i Parrocchiani Sanesi entrare in tutte le case a benedire, e contare il Popolo, e lasciar delle croci di cera benedette per affissare alle porte; la qual cosa fu instuita a consiglio del B. Ambrogio Sansedoni in tempo che la Patria era interdetta dalle censure e si vedeano da pertutto molte larve spaventose."

[2] It seems almost superfluous to point out that there is no authority for the statement made by W. D. HOWELLS, in his *Tuscan Cities* (Leipzig, Heinemann & Balestier, 1891), p. 171, that the Blessed Ambrogio "stole a blessing from the Pope for his city by having concealed under his cloak a model of it when he appeared before the pontiff!"

[3] BOLLAND, XX Mart., vol. iii. col. 188.—The Commission of the four contemporaries (Gisberto Alessandrino, Recuperato da Pietramala, Aldobrandino de' Paparoni, and Odoardo de' Bisdomini; the last two being Sienese) was appointed by Honorius IV., who died in April 1287.

[4] The Bollandists themselves note that the *Life* contains several interpolations; and that the passage under consideration is one of these is, as they observe, proved by the fact that expressions are used therein which *annorum aliquot supponunt experientiam;* for example, where it treats *de ludis ad diem Ambrosio festum translatis.* Further evidence is to be

in the statement that the anniversary of the Blessed Ambrogio's return to the city, with the papal brief releasing it from the interdict, was from thenceforth celebrated *cum repræsentatione solemni.*

Miracle plays and religious spectacles were already becoming common. Milanesi records a *Rappresentazione* which, in the 13th century, certain women "made" in the Piazza of Siena, on Good Friday, at the expense of the Commune;[1] while, in the *Deliberazioni* of the General Council, of April 7th, 1257, we find the following *proposta* recorded: *Item, si placet vobis quod ob reverentiam Jesu Christi dentur illi puero qui fuit positus in cruce loco Domini die veneris sancte.*[2] Moreover, if we may believe Ventura, who wrote in the second quarter of the 15th century, the *Rappresentazione* which celebrated and symbolized the removal of the interdict, took the place of the older *Giuochi Giorgiani.*[3] These, he tells us, had been instituted in 1260, in honour of the glorious Misser St George, who was the patron saint of the German mercenaries who fought at Montaperto, and who, by his merits and intercessions, had, it was believed, contributed to the victory. To him was erected a church, in the Via Pantaneto,[4] with a fair and great campanile; "and since there are in Siena xlviii companies, so there were

found in the mention of the palio—*bravium pro cursu equorum*—which, as we shall see, was run for the first time in 1307—Compare C. MAZZI, *La Congrega dei Rozzi di Siena nel secolo XVI* (Firenze, Successori Le Monnier, 1882), vol. i. p. 9; A. D'ANCONA, *Origini del Teatro Italiano* (Torino, E. Loescher, 1891), vol. i. p. 101 note.

[1] Quoted by C. MAZZI, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 5 note.

[2] R. ARCH. DI STATO IN SIENA, *Delib. del Consiglio Generale della Campana, ad annum*, vii. 58^{tgo}.

[3] See VENTURA, *op. cit.*, in the PORRI *Miscellanea.* The account of the *Giuochi Giorgiani* is evidently a 15th century addition, being inserted after the words "Qui finisce la sconfitta di Montaperto, *Deo gratias, amen.* Iscritta per me Nicolò di Giovanni, di Francesco Ventura da Siena, e finita a dì primo di Dicembre MCCCCXLII." It was, in fact, a postscript due to the copyist. Professor Langton Douglas, who is now engaged in editing the Ambrosian codex of *La battaglia di Montaperti* (BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA, Cod. F. S. V. 23), which is believed to be a copy of some nearly contemporary manuscript, informs me that it contains no mention of the *Giuochi Giorgiani.* It may perhaps be well to remark that the MS. version of Ventura, contained in the Communal Library of Siena, compares not unfavourably with the Ambrosian version. The corruptions and additions of the printed text are due largely to Porri.

Another account of the *Giuochi Giorgiani* has been printed by Sig^{r} A. LIBERATI in the *Miscellanea Senese* of April 1903. It is taken from an anonymous chronicle of the 15th century.

[4] See *Il Constituto del C. di Siena dell' anno 1262* (edition cited), i. 123–126.

made xlviii windows to the said campanile."[1] On the 23rd of April, the same being St George's day, the *Giuochi Giorgiani* were celebrated before the said church, after this manner:

"In the first place, a wood; then a man armed, in the form of St George, fights with the Dragon, and the Damozel continues in prayer. This was done to represent St George, who, in Libya, in the City of Silence, liberated the King of the City of Silence and his daughter and all the people from the Dragon; and so, having been delivered from such evil Fortune, the Sienese ordained, for an allegory, that every year a counterfeit dragon should combat before the Church of St Georgè, and a damozel should stand in prayer, and that this dragon should combat with a man armed. Now it was decreed that this festival should be held every year, for a perpetual memorial; but thereafter, it came to pass that by reason of the straitness of the place it was transferred to the Campo of Siena, and was celebrated on the festival of St Ambrogio of Siena of the Order of St Dominic, because he brought us into the grace of the Pope, by whom we were excommunicated; and also, for decorum toward our neighbours, was this festival and combat transferred to the Campo; and so may it continue for ever in sæcula sæculorum, Amen. Deo gratias."[2]

Thus, as we shall see, the Dragon, which at first represented the Florentines, became symbolical of the Devil; the place of St George was taken by two Angels, armed and on horseback; while, for the Damozel (Siena), who "continued in prayer," was substituted a Dominican friar, the Blessed Ambrogio, who interceded with the Pope for the Sienese.

In the *Legend* of the Blessed Ambrogio, printed in 1509,[3] we have the following description of the festivities:—

[1] Anonymous chronicle, cited *supra*. [2] VENTURA, *loc. cit.*

[3] "*La Leggenda overo tractato della sancta vita del beato Ambrosio da Siena et di sue sancte et admirabili operationi et miracoli nella vita et doppo la morte sua, compilata da frate Gysberto Alexandrino. . . .*" Printed in Siena "*per laccurato homo Symeone di Nicolao, Cartolaro Sanese. Adi xxiii di Agosto. Anno Dñi M.D. VIIII.*"—The printer states: "Et questa opera impressa è stata scuperta duno anticho exemplare per la cui anticha scriptura si può iudicare essare del uero originali deli sopradecti compilatori."

"Cap. XII. *Della Representatione et festa di Siena per essa absolutione*

"Now when the Nuncio arrived in Siena, with the brief of release from the interdict and rebenediction of the City, all the people were exceeding glad and held high festival. Then was mass celebrated and solemn processions were made; and there were bonfires and sound of bells through all the city. And it was decreed that, on the day of the entry of Ambrogio into Siena, a Representation and Festa should be made, on such wise as is hereinafter written, upon the piazza of Siena, to represent that which befel at the audience and hearing which Ambrogio had from the Pope; and that on the same day should be run a fair Palio; the which festival should be celebrated yearly, for all time to come, in memory of the mercies received in the aforesaid miraculous manner.

"Thereafter, the said festa was transferred to the day of the death of the Beatus.

"The Palio was offered, together with great quantities of wax, to the Church of San Domenico, with procession of all the Rules, accompanied by all the Magistrates and Governors of the City, with candles in their hands, and by all the Arts with their offerings.

"Now Ambrogio, by reason of his humility, was unwilling to be present at the said celebration, and delayed his return.

"For the said Representation and festival, was erected upon the Campo a great stage (*un palco grande*), covered above, as it were with arches supported upon columns, with other structures representing the richly adorned audience chambers of the Pope. Within were persons who represented the Pope and the Cardinals and other attendant secretaries, with all the splendours of the said audience; and there were also young children, clad after the manner of Angels, at the said audience; and, outside the chambers, were represented prelates and ambassadors and courtiers of divers sorts.

"In the midst of the piazza, were made caverns of wood, painted to resemble great rocks, with a forest round about; and, in the caverns, were men clad and formed like unto devils and dragons, and others, like unto serpents, made of thick leather. The which caverns and chambers of the stage

remained closed so that nothing could be seen of the said Representation.

"Now they commenced the festa after this manner. First, a white dove appeared from a place hard by the edifice, and descended by a wire, with flames of fire in her mouth, finishing her rapid flight in a great closed flower, set upon the top of the edifice; wherefrom, on a sudden, came flashes of fire and great explosions, with an Angel announcing the festival.[1] Then all the edifice of the Representations was uncovered, where were recited, reverently and in clear tones, all the words spoken by the Blessed Ambrogio.[2] Thereafter, the Angels sang certain passing beautiful verses, very devoutly, setting forth the gratitude of the people, giving thanks and praise to God and to the Virgin Mary for the mercies vouchsafed, and promising that, for all time to come, the said people would not again be disobedient to Holy Church. Then another Angel appeared, singing verses in honour and praise of the Blessed Ambrogio; and he who represented the Blessed Ambrogio came forth from the audience hall, accompanied by the secretaries and the courtiers; and, having humbly entreated them to leave him, he withdrew into a chamber to avoid the multitude that would have followed him. Afterward, the Angels descended and mounted upon a chariot, singing and making music around the piazza. Hereupon, an Angel appeared upon the summit of the said edifice, and descended very swiftly, by a great rope, toward the caverns of the devils and over them, singing certain verses against the said devils (*cantando certi versi contra essi diavoli*). Suddenly a great discharge of artillery was heard;[3] and the devils and dragons and serpents issued forth from their caverns; and

[1] To such of my readers as have had the good fortune to be in Florence, on the Saturday before Easter, this dove, *con fiamme di fuoco in bocca*, descending *giù per uno filo di ferro*, will no doubt recall "Lo scoppio del Carro" and "La Colombina."—Compare W. D. HOWELLS, *Tuscan Cities* (edition cited), pp. 116, 117.

[2] "The festival . . . was substantially a representation of the manner wherein Fra Ambrogio, . . . having obtained audience of the Pope, prostrated himself at his feet, and set forth the embassy of his native city, in an eloquent discourse, full of compassionate words, efficacious to dispose the mind of the Pope to pity and mercy; together with the welcome answer which he brought back, embellished with that poetic licence which is generally permitted to the composers of similar Representations."—G. SANSEDONI, *Vita del Beato Ambrosio, etc., op. cit.*, p. 64.

[3] "*Uno grande scoppio di spingarda.*"—In TOMMASI's account of the *Rappresentazione*, he speaks of "un colpo d'artigliaria" (*Hist.* ii. 69). This Giulio Sansedoni explains as follows: "Before 'bombards' were invented, they made, as I believe, a very great booming noise by some other artificial means; but, after the said discovery (which took place in 1330), they could more conveniently effect their purpose by discharging artillery."—*Vita del B. Ambrosio, op. cit.*, p. 65.

the Angels pursued after the devils; and two, armed and on horseback, came forth and fought against the dragons and serpents. Finally, the devils departed from the piazza, and the dragons and serpents lay dead, slain by the Angels. Thus was represented the deliverance of the souls of the people of Siena, who had been excommunicated, from the power of the demons.

"In the meantime was represented upon the edifice of the stage the return of Ambrogio to the palace of Pope Gregory, what time he was summoned by him and ordered to go through the nations of Europe to preach a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. Also they represented how, during the said journey, the Devil appeared to Ambrogio in the form of a hermit, tempting him with many plausible reasons and subtil arguments, to aspire to high ecclesiastical dignities. . . . And, when the Tempter had vanished, the Angel proclaimed the end of the festa, singing and making music. All the Angels of the chariot, with all the company of the Representation, betook themselves to the Convent of San Domenico; and so the festa ended."

It is, of course, obvious that the spectacle here described belongs to a much later period than 1273. Professor D'Ancona is disposed to attribute it to the latter half of the 15th century, and it probably exhibits the latest development of the feste with which the good news brought by Fra Ambrogio was welcomed. To say nothing of the discharge of artillery, and the dramatization of actions of the protagonist which took place subsequent to the absolution, the whole form and apparatus of the *Rappresentazione* is far too elaborate for the 13th century.[1]

There was, no doubt, merrymaking and rejoicing, ringing of bells and lighting of bonfires; jousts and dancing, with maskers and buffoons in plenty.[2] Perhaps, too, the deeds of Fra Ambrogio were celebrated in song, even as the taking of

[1] D'ANCONA, *op. cit.*, pp. 103–105.

[2] "E tutte le campane suonarono a gloria, che prima non si solevano sonare; e i Signori Nove fecero fare festa otto dì continui e giostre e balli e molte mascare e scutubrini, e a riverentia di tal festa si fecero molte solennità." Such are the words of an ancient chronicle which Professor D'Ancona believes to have been written in the 14th century. That it was written some time after the events which it describes, seems clear from the mention of the *Signori Nove*. In 1273, the Trentasei, and not the Nove, governed Siena.

Torniella had been celebrated eighteen years earlier.[1] Of course, all the citizens thronged the churches to receive the sacraments of which they had so long been deprived; and, possibly, there may have been some rude representation of the slaying of the devil, in the form of a dragon—something popular and pantomimic, like the scene which Giovanni Villani describes upon the Arno, below the Ponte alla Carraia, in May 1304.[2] Be this as it may. It is enough for us that, at whatever date the *Rappresentazione* was actually instituted, it was so instituted in commemoration of the delivery of Siena "from the power of the demons," in 1273.

Ambrogio Sansedoni died on the 20th of March 1287, to the great grief of all the City. He was buried at the public expense, and, twenty years later, it was decreed that a solemn palio should be run annually in his honour. *Item, statuimus et ordinamus quod fiat festivitas et gaudium in festo beati Ambrosii de civitate Sen. de uno palio valoris xx lib. den.: ad quod palium curratur solepnitur, more solito, in civitate Sen. et ut moris est in civitate Sen. ad palium curri: quod palium Domini Camerarius et iiii^or provisores Comunis de pecunia ipsius comunis emere debeant cum effectu et procurare ut singulis annis in dicto festo predicta executioni mandentur. Et hoc capitulum factum est M°CCC°VI indictione quarta de mense mai.*[3]

In the *Libro di Biccherna*, of the following February, we find registered a payment of 20 lire *a Berto e a Sozo di Neri Machiti zendadari: i quali denari lo' demo per lo paglio de la festa del beato santo Ambruogio, el quale paglio si die chorire el dì de la sua festa: e detti denari paghamo sechondo la forma de lo statutto: el quale istatuto inchomincia ora: ed è el primo paglio.*[4]

[1] In the *Libri di Biccherna*, we find it recorded that, in 1255, *C. sol. den.* were paid to a certain Guidaloste, *joculatori de Pistoria, pro uno pario pannorum quia fecit cantionem de captione Tornielle*, or, as it is more definitely described in another place, *quandam Ballatam de Torniella.*—Compare D'ANCONA e BACCI, *Manuale della Lett. Italiana* (Firenz Barbèra, 1903), vol. i. p. 34.

[2] G. VILLANI, *Cronica*, viii. 70. Compare D'ANCONA, *Origini del Teatro, etc., op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 94 *seq.*

[3] ARCH. DI STATO IN SIENA, *Statuti del C. di Siena*, xviii. 135^tgo.

[4] IBID., *Libri di Biccherna*, cxi. 43: 28 *febbraio* 1306 (1307 stile com.).

In May, 1309, the law was amended and the price of the palio raised from twenty to twenty-five lire.[1]

II

Of the Palio of S. Pietro Alessandrino but little need be said. The good Gigli speaks of the festival of which it formed a part, as celebrated in memory of a victory over fellow-citizens, and one which were, therefore, best forgotten.[2] It is, however, well to remember that that victory represented also the frustration of Florentine intrigue—a just cause for public rejoicing.

In 1387, Florence cast longing eyes upon Montepulciano, the old apple of discord between the Communes, and, by the most shameless treachery, achieved her ends. The result was open war. Siena, unable to resist the aggressions of her stronger neighbour, allied herself with the ambitious Duke of Milan, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, and, in the last year of the century, accepted his overlordship and did him homage as her seignior.

The event was celebrated by "Il Saviozzo" da Siena, in a *canzone* which he composed *a laude di Giovan Galeazzo, duca di Milano*, and which Carducci has called the last cry of Ghibellinism. It begins as follows:

> Novella monarchia, giusto signore,
> Clemente padre, insigne, virtuoso,
> Per cui pace e riposo
> Spera trovar la dolce vedovella. . . .

Excessive praise, no doubt; but it is clear that the Sienese poet was, in fact, belauding not the man, but the enemy of the hated Florentines; and because the Florentines themselves had continually upon their lips the sacred name of Liberty, no longer boasting, as Antonio Pucci had done, that the cities which they annexed were *recate al loro mulino*, but declaring with cynical insolence that they were *ridotte in*

[1] *Costituto del C. di Siena volgarizzato, etc., op. cit.*, Dist. i. Rubr. 56. See also C. MAZZI, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 16–19, where a large number of documents referring to the Palio of the Blessed Ambrogio are printed.

[2] *Diario* cited, ii. 546.

libertà, Il Saviozzo invoked the justice and vengeance of the Almighty against that

detestabil seme
Nimico di quiete e caritade
Che dicon *libertade*
E con più tirannia ha guasto il mondo.
. . . . . .
Costor coi loro inganni han messo al fondo
Già le cose di Dio
E conculcato quasi ogni vicino.
. . . . . .
Ch' el sangue fiorentino
Purghi ogni sua più velenosa scabbia
E noi siam franchi da cotanta rabbia![1]

Even now, it is difficult to read the history of Pisa, of Siena, of Volterra, or indeed of any Tuscan city, without feeling the blood boil at the rapacity, ruthlessness and treachery of Florence. What then must have been the wrath and hatred with which her weaker neighbours regarded her in the days of her power?

Siena was between the devil and the deep sea, and she chose the lesser evil.

In September 1402, Gian Galeazzo died of the plague. There were commotions in many of the subject towns, and Florence, no longer alarmed for her own independence, leagued herself with the Pope, and once more attacked Siena, under the pretext of liberating her from the yoke of the Visconti—"*premendo a' Fiorentini*," says Ammirato, "*di ridur Siena in libertà.*"[2]

The Dodici and the Salimbeni, who had been the principal authors of her servitude, conspired with her enemies, and, on the 26th of November 1403, the day of S. Pietro Alessandrino, they rose in revolt against the Government. The insurrection was repressed, after a long and obstinate conflict, which strewed the Campo with corpses; and, as a result, the Supreme Magistracy was reformed to the exclusion of the rebels, who were forbidden to bear arms.

[1] A. FRANCHETTI, *I primordi delle Signorie e delle Compagnie di Ventura, in* "La vita italiana nel Trecento" (Milano, Fratelli Treves, 1897), p. 52.

[2] *Istorie fiorentine di* SCIPIONE AMMIRATO (Firenze, Batelli e compagni, 1848), vol. iv. lib. xvii. p. 130.

In the following year, a special Balìa, which had been created in consequence of these disturbances, made peace with Florence and annulled the Ducal suzerainty. The Dodici, however, were not pardoned; their violence and dissensions, during the latter half of the 14th century, had brought the Commune to the brink of ruin; without either ability or patriotism, they had justly earned the suspicion and contempt of their fellow-citizens; and a solemn annual festival was decreed to commemorate their overthrow; while, to render it more splendid, a palio was inaugurated a few years later.

On December the 11th, 1413, the officials of the Republic, assembled in Concistoro, "*vigore remissionis in eos facte a generali Consilio Campane dicti Comunis . . . solepniter et concorditer deliberaverunt et decreverunt quod festum sancti Petri predicti fiat in perpetuum per Comunem Senarum eo modo et forma et cum illa expensa quibus fit festum sancti Ambrosij: videlicet: quod debeat fieri unum palium et currere facere ad ecclesiam catedralem: et quod dicta die debeat fieri oblatio seu offerta decem doppleriorum per Dominos Priores et Capitaneum populi dicte ecclesie catedrali: et dicta dies debeat venerari solenniter pro ut fit dies pascatis. . . .*"[1]

San Pietro Alessandrino was thus a saint of some importance in Siena, and he was early taken by the Arte degli Speziali for its protector. As such, we see him depicted upon a Tavoletta di Gabella of 1440. In that year the Camarlingo was an apothecary—*Antonio di Francesco, speziale*—and he naturally caused the cover of his register to be ornamented with the picture of the patron saint of his guild.[2]

III

We have now discussed the origin of the three principal palii of the Sienese year. The earliest of these, and unquestionably the most important, was that of the 15th of August, which was run in honour of Our Lady, the City's Protector and Advocate, and which, for that reason, was intimately

[1] *Delib. del Concistoro*, Bim. novembre e dicembre 1413, fo. 25^{tgo}; C. Mazzi, *op. cit.*, p. 18 note.

[2] See my *Pictorial Chronicle of Siena* (Siena, E. Torrini, 1902), p. 56.

connected with the greatest triumphs of the Republic. The second, that of the Blessed Ambrogio Sansedoni, was, as we have seen, instituted in remembrance of the deliverance of the people from spiritual censures; while the third, that of S. Pietro Alessandrino, commemorated nothing more glorious than the suppression of civic tumult, and the overthrow of a rebellious faction.

Other palii were run on other holy days and in honour of various saints; as for example *in festo sancte Marie Magdalene*, on *Corpus Domini*, and on the festival of S. Ansano and of the other patrons of the city; while in the autumn of 1359, a special palio was held to celebrate the arrival of certain sacred relics which had been procured for the Spedale della Scala.[1] In one respect they were all alike. They all possessed a distinctly religious aspect; and although it may be possible to lay too much stress upon this fact, since religion may often have been nothing more than an excuse for merrymaking and excitement, it is none the less certain that, if we altogether ignore it, we shall hopelessly fail to understand one side, and that not the least important side, of the Modern Palio.

[1] R. ARCH. DI STATO IN SIENA, *Delib. del Consiglio Generale*, 22 Ottobre 1359. Compare the *Cronica Senese* in MURATORI, xv. 164.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH

THE END OF THE PALIO ALLA LUNGA

WHATEVER may have been the case at an earlier period,[1] there can be no doubt that, from the 15th century onward, the palii were run within the city.[2] Starting from the Convent of Santuccio, near the Porta Romana, the course traversed the Via di Pantaneto (now Via Ricasoli) for its entire length, and then followed the Via di Città as far as the Piazza di Postierla. There it turned sharply to the right, through the Via del Capitano, and finished in the Piazza del Duomo. This, in later years, gave to these races the title of the *Palio alla lunga*, to distinguish them from the Palio delle Contrade, which, since it was run in the circular Piazza del Campo, was called the *Palio alla tonda*.

The prize almost invariably consisted of gold brocade; of rich "cut" velvet, in which the pattern was formed in relief by pile raised above pile, mixed with gold; or of other stuffs of great value. The dress of the Madonna, in an altar-piece of Benvenuto di Giovanni in the Sienese Gallery,[3] will, I think, afford some idea of the sort of material employed. We have already heard Goro di Stagio Dati's description of *il molto grande e ricco Palio, di velluto chermisi fine, in due palii*, which was run for at Florence on the feast of St John;[4] and, in certain verses which were written between 1407 and 1409, we read of

> il paglio gientile
> . . . . . .
> D'un velluto di grana bello e fino,
> Con ermellini e vai in tal lavoro
> Con fregi e gigli d'oro,
> Un per lo mezzo e l'altro in su la cima.[5]

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[1] See p. 63 *supra*.

[2] In the *Deliberazione di Concistoro*, of 1413, it was provided, as we have seen, that the Palio of S. Pietro Alessandrino should be run *ad ecclesiam catedralem*.

[3] See Frontispiece. For other specimens of such work, see the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (ninth edition), vol. xvii. p. 46, fig. 14, and vol. xxiii. p. 209, fig. 6.

[4] Page 8 *supra*. [5] C. GUASTI, *Le Feste di S. G. Batista in Firenze*, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–14.

Mutatis mutandis, these descriptions will doubtless serve to give the reader a fairly adequate idea of the palii which were offered as prizes at the Sienese horse-races.

In Florence, the craftsmen who made the palio laboured thereon for two months.[1] In Siena the time seems to have been a little shorter, if we may judge from a contract of 5th July, 1447, which is printed among the Milanesi documents,[2] *dd faciendum unum fregium aureum pro palio curendo in festo sancte Marie Augusti*, fifteen braccia long, and as wide as the sample provided by the officials of Biccherna. It was to be made *de bono auro et cum compassis similibus dicto saggio, vel melioribus; et in dicto fregio* the maestri to whom the work was entrusted promised *facere et inserere septem arma sive insignia, videlicet: arma Imperii et arma Comunis, et Populi civitatis Senarum.* For this work sixty-seven florins (268 lire) were to be paid, *et illud plus, quod declarabitur per dictum camerarium.* Thus we perceive that much larger sums were expended on the palii than formerly. It will be remembered, for example, that the palio which was contended for on the feast of the Blessed Ambrogio originally cost only 20 lire. Half a century later, the Quattro Provveditori were authorized to expend *de pecunia Comunis Senarum usque in quantitatem quadraginta florenorum auri* for the buying and making of an honourable palio, *pro honorando festum sancti Ambrosii de Senis;*[3] while, in 1480, as much as fifty florins was disbursed for this purpose.[4] In like manner, the palio for the 15th of August, which in 1310 had cost only 50 lire, at the end of the 15th century, involved an annual expenditure of about a thousand lire.[5] Nor should we forget the fact that that sum represented

[1] "Mesi due innanzi si comincia a fare il palio." GORO DI STAGIO DATI, *Storia di Firenze, op. cit.*, p. 84.—Florence, Genoa and Venice were celebrated for their "cut" velvets; and it is not without interest to note that, in 1337, the palio for the feast of the B. Ambrogio Sansedoni was bought in Florence. On the 9th April of that year, we find an entry in the *Libri di Biccherna* of a payment of 25 lire to *Chiaro Vivianj bancherio quos soluit Florentie pro palio festivitatis sancti Ambrosij.*

[2] *Documenti*, ii. 246, N°. 179.

[3] *Delib. del Concistoro*, Bim. marzo e aprile, 1356, fo. 26^{tgo}.

[4] *Delib. di Balìa*, Bim. marzo e aprile, 1470–80, fo. 4^{tgo}; C. MAZZI, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 17, 19.

[5] See the note at the end of the chapter. For the extracts from the Books of Biccherna,

a far greater purchasing power than is possessed by the same number of lire, at the present time; since, until the economic conditions of Europe were changed by the importation of bullion from America, the extreme scarcity of money rendered prices extraordinarily low. Thus, in Florence, ordinary wheat cost only 5 soldi the staio, that of the Valdichiana and of Cortona 10 soldi; capons and fat geese cost a lira each; pullets 10 soldi the pair; a barrel of common wine could be bought for £1. 20, of Chianti for £1. 80; a priest, according to a contemporary chronicle, lived decently for 25 lire a year; and 20 lire was the annual wage of a working man.[1] Under these circumstances, we can well understand that a *nobile bravium rosaceum*, which would cast no discredit upon the Commune or its rulers, could be provided for so respectable a sum as a thousand lire.

The horses which took part in the race were of the finest quality. The Commune itself possessed an excellent breeding ground in the Maremma;[2] and, in those days, princes, cardinals and wealthy citizens kept *barberi*, which they sent from city to city for the various feste. As early as 1373, we find it recorded, in the chronicle of Neri di Donato, that Misser Piero Gambacorti of Pisa sent a horse to run for the Palio of Sant' Ambrogio Sansedoni;[3] while, towards the close of the 15th century, we meet with many illustrious names among the competitors for the Sienese palii. Such were Lorenzo de' Medici, the Seignior of Camerino, the Marquis of Mantua, the Marquis della Sassetta, the nephew of Cardinal di Ruan; to say nothing of many private citizens of Florence, Lucca, Arezzo and Cortona. Nor must we forget the youthful Cesare Borgia, whose commanding personality served, at a later period, to inspire the patriot Machiavelli with his conception of an ideal prince, and

there printed, I am indebted to my friend Professor E. CASANOVA, until recently Sub-Director of the Sienese Archivio.

[1] A. JÈHAN DE JOHANNIS, *Sulle condizioni dell' economia politica, etc.*, Conferenza nella "Vita italiana nel Cinquecento" (Milano, Fratelli Treves, 1897), p. 140.

[2] C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[3] *Cronica Sanese* in MURATORI, xv. 239: "Ser Renaldo di Ser Deo, avendo fatto uno inganno alla mossa de' Barbareschi del Palio di santo Ambruogio in Siena, fu condennato nella menda del Palio, e pagollo, e dessi al cavallo di Misser Piero Gambacorti, che l'aveva perduto per lo detto inganno. . . ."

Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, typical decadent and much over-rated painter, who frittered away his splendid natural abilities upon works which, for the most part, merely serve to show how much he might have accomplished had he realized the dignity of Art.

With regard to the latter, it is enough to mention that, among the goods and chattels on which he was assessed in 1531, were eight horses, which he whimsically listed as "kids"—*Trovomi al presente otto cavalli; per sopranome son chiamati caprette et io sono un castrone a governarli;*[1]—and that his name occurs more than once in the registers of the period as an owner of *barberi*, which he entered for the various Sienese palii. The extracts from these registers, which are published in the *Nuovi Documenti*,[2] are well worthy of study, and throw considerable light upon the subject of the present chapter.

Of Cesare Borgia we may notice that his earliest relations with the Commune of Siena were in connection with the palio of August 1492. His jockey having won the race by questionable tactics, the Deputati della festa refused to award him the prize. The news reached Cesare at Caprarola, a few miles south of Viterbo, as he was travelling to Rome to be present at his father's coronation; and thence, on the 18th of August, he wrote to the Governors of Siena demanding the palio, which he maintained was rightfully his. This letter has been recently printed by Cav. A. Lisini,[3] and bears the autographic signature, *M.S. ordinationi paratus C. Electus Valentie.* What answer the *Governatori* returned to the youthful prelate's request we do not know; but the fact that such a letter was written at such a time, by such a man, is interesting as showing what importance was attached in those days to the result of a horse-race. If, in modern England, the possession of a Derby winner is a subject of congratulation for a Prime Minister, in Italy, in the Quattrocento, an Archbishop elect, even at the turning-point of his life, when

[1] *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese, raccolti da* S. BORGHESI e L. BANCHI (Siena, E. Torrini, 1898), p. 456, Doc. 228.

[2] Pp. 408–410.

[3] A. LISINI, *Relazioni fra Cesare Borgia e la Repubblica Senese*, in the *Bullettino Senese di St Patria*, vol. vii. (1900), pp. 91–92.

he might reasonably indulge in high hopes and far-reaching ambitions, was deeply concerned about the winning of a palio.

As touching the race itself, we learn that the horses which took part in it were ridden by boys dressed in the liveries of their employers; while, as an additional means of identification, each of them was ticketed with a card (or, as it was then called, *un breve*), upon which was inscribed either some nickname, such as "*Spron di gallo*"; "*Gativello*"; "*Zampogna*"; "*Scaramuccia*," and the like; or some more or less appropriate motto; as, for example, "*Spera in Dio e in nostra Donna*"; "*Fatti avanti che bisogna*"; "*Fa conto senza l'oste*"; "*Ho paura d'esser l'ultimo.*" When the race was over, these names and mottoes were shouted through the streets, by the crowd of young rascals who followed the victorious horse and jockey.

At this period the annual Sienese palii were four in number, *i.e.* the Palio of the Blessed Ambrogio Sansedoni, on the 30th of March; the Palio of St Mary Magdalene, on the 22nd of July; the Palio of Our Lady of Mid-August, on the Festival of the Assumption; and the Palio of San Pietro Alessandrino, on the 26th of November.

After the fall of the Republic, three of them seem to have been abandoned; whether by degrees or at once, I cannot say. The Palio of Mid-August, however, continued to be run until the latter half of the 19th century; although the character of the race was materially altered. As the elder Sienese remember it, it was run by riderless horses, which were kept to the proper course by canvas curtains, stretched across the Piazza di Postierla and many of the side streets. The visitor to Siena may still see, affixed to the walls, on either side of the Via de' Pellegrini where it joins the Via di Città, certain pieces of iron which were used to support the posts to which the canvas was hung.

The race, which took place in the morning, and which, of course, entailed a complete cessation of all traffic for the time being, created no special enthusiasm, and was kept up simply

as a time-honoured custom. From the nature of the course, nobody could catch more than a passing glimpse of the horses as they swept by; and when, some thirty-five years ago, it was proposed to suppress it, no objection was offered, and thus a survival of the 13th century passed silently into oblivion.

NOTE

Extracts from the "Libri di Biccherna."

Registro. N°. 346, a carte cxxxvj — 1492. giugno 19

(Uscita generale)

A El palio di Santo Ambruogio, che si corse fino adì . . . d'aprile, lire ciento-ottantatre soldi quindici, paghamo conttanti a li infrascritti, cioè: a Giovanni Fonghai lire 146 soldi 0 per costo di canne iiij°. di rosato fino et bello, a lire 36, soldi 10, canna, et soldi 40 per la cierra a li detti, et lire 1 e s. 10 paghati conttanti a Jacomo Umidi settaiuolo per costo de le bande et nappe et altri fornimenti d'esso palio . . .[1] et lire iiij. s. 0 paghati a m^a^ Neroccia per la pigione delle sue case dove stero lo dì li iiij di Bicherna et giudice delle riformagioni et del podesta, sicome è usanza fare ogni anno . . . . ℔. clxxxiij, s. xv

Ivi, a.c. cxl — 1492. agosto 27

A El palio di Santa Maria d'Agosto, adì xxvij d'aghosto, lire noveciento novanta sette soldi quindici, sonno per lo costo et spese d'esso palio, cioè: a Poggi di Lucha, per costo di braccia 30 di cremexi a fiorini ij larghi il braccio, ℔390; a Andrea del Giocondo da Firenze per costo di libre 4 d'oro fino bello a ℔6 soldi iiij° l'oncia, cioè lire 74 s. 8 la libra, in tutto ℔.297 s. 12; e per kabella del drappo a Lucha e in Siena in tutto ℔.12 s. 12; e per kabella di lib 4 d'oro a Firenze e in Siena e andata al Camarlingo in ij volte a Lucha et Firenze in tutto ℔19 s. 19; e per costo di pancie 1100 a ℔.10 s. 5 il

[1] I omit the expenses relative to the *colazione*.

ciento in Firenze a Pasquali sensale et per cabella d'esse pancie a s. 26 il ciento £.112, s. 15 le pancie et £.14 s. 06 Kabella; et per fattura del fregio de l'oro a madonna Margherita de lo spedale £.30; et s. 40 a m^a^ Romana per cucitura d'esso fregio, et £.72, s. 1, a Luigi Pepi setaiuolo per costo di bande et tutto il fornimento di nappe et naponi e atachatura d'armini del fregio; et £.15 s. 10 a Giovanni di Christofano dipentore[1] per dipentura de l'asta lione et bande; et £9. s. 10 a quelli tirarǫ il carro;[2] et £.4, s. 8 a' maestri che andaro insul carro; et £.13 a m^a^ Romana degli Azioni che ficie li schudi che andaro nel fregio de l'oro; et £.12 s. 0 a Jacomo di Taddeo pelliciaio per foderatura del palio. . . .[3]

Registro. N°. 347, a.c. cv tergo — 1495. maggio 5

El paglio di Santo Ambruogio oferto questo anno a San Domenicho e dipoi chorso adì detto, £. ciento sesantaquatro soldi dieci per tanti si sono spesi in detto paglio choli suoi fornimenti e altre spese e cholazione chome si chostuma . . . . . £. clxiiij°. s. x

Ivi, a.c. cxj. — 1495. agosto 30

El paglio di S^ta^ M^a^ d'Aghosto ofertosi a la nostra donna al Duomo della festa di S. M^a^ prossima passata, adì 30 d'aghosto[4] £. mille cinquantacinque soldi otto paghamo a più e diverse persone per lo chosto e spese di detto paglio, cioè: Antonio Gaselli setaiolo per braccia 30 di veluto cremisi per lire 13 braccio monta

[1] This must have been the same Giovanni di Cristofano, who some twelve years earlier had, together with Francesco d'Andrea, painted the affresco of the Battle of Poggio Imperiale in the Sala del Mappamondo. See the *Nuovi Documenti*, pp. 226–227.

[2] See p. 56 *supra*.

[3] I again omit the cost of the *colazione*.

[4] When, as occasionally happened, there was no race, the palio seems to have been presented to Our Lady. Such was the case, for example, in 1546, when the Festival of the Assumption was celebrated by a bull-fight, and the palio, *un grandissimo di velluto cremisi, con fodera di vaio e fregio d'oro*, was carried in state to the Duomo.—See *La Magnifica ed onorata festa fatta in Siena per la Madonna d'Agosto, l'anno 1546. Lettera di Cecchino, cartaio, a Madonna Gentile Tantucci* (published in 1879, per le nozze Fumi-Cambi, Siena, Tip. Lazzeri), p. 13.

£.390 s. o e per oncie 47 d'oro filato auto e chomprato qui in Siena da più nostri setaiuoli a £.6 l'oncia e £.6 s. 5, chome apare partita, etc. . . . [1] che in tutto fa la somma di £.1055, s. 8. E se a voi riveditori[2] paresse che detto paglio monti più che non suole, n'è chagione el oro del fregio ch'è quello chonprato in Siena, che non si potè fare altro, più charo che non suole li altri anni e a[n]cho le fodere. Dette fodere le chonpramo lire 20 più per chomandame[n]to della Balia perchè si volsero valere di tanti più perchè li tanti denari no andaro a l'opera ma li adoperò detta Balìa . . . £. M° lv. s. viij

Registro. N°. 348, a.c. ccxxv 1500. maggio 30

El paglio di Santo Ambruogio passato adì iiij di magio £. cientosettantauna s. due sonno per lo costo di detto paglio cioè canne 4 di rosado et per le bande nappe lione et maze et per la colasione si fe' a' 4 di Biccherna et Giudice il dì si chorse . . . £. clxxj s. ij

[For the Palio of St Mary of August of the same year the expenses were £1113, s. 16, of which £200, s. 15 were spent on the banquet (*colasione*). The palio was of crimson velvet, 30 braccia in length. "Antonio dipentore" painted it (Ivi, a.c. ccxxxiij). In 1501 the August Palio cost £1040 (Registro N°. 349, a.c. cxiij), and, in 1502, £1023, s. 16., of which £835 were paid for *cremisi e fregio*; £130 for the *pance*; £12, *manifattura di dette pance*, and £20 to Antonio the painter (Registro N°. 350, a.c. cxxxviiij tergo).]

[1] The items of expense which refer to the same objects as have been set forth in detail in the entry regarding the palio of 1492, are omitted. The painter employed was once more Giovanni di Cristofano.

[2] As to the Approvatori e Riveditori della ragione del Camarlingo e dei Quattro Provveditori, see *Il Costituto del C. di Siena volgarizzato nel MCCCIX-MCCCX* (edition cited), Dist. i. Rubric 69; and compare my *Pictorial Chronicle of Siena*, pp. 26–27.

BOOK II

THE GIUOCO DEL MAZZASCUDO

CHAPTER THE FIRST

THE GIUOCO DEL PONTE OF PISA

Qui si rinnovano gli esempj arditi
Dei scontri fervidi dei campi Elèi;
Tutti già sognano danze, e conviti,
Pugne, e trofei.

TO Pisa, great and powerful while yet the Greeks fought beneath the walls of Troy,[1] whose more than thirty centuries laugh to scorn the pinchbeck antiquity of other cities; beside whom, even Rome is young; to Pisa, Lady of the Sea,[2] the mart of all the West and all the world,[3] the conqueror of the Balearic Isles, of Sardinia and of Corsica, the scourge of the Infidel,

. . . al ferire invitta, al vincer nata;

to Pisa, *Tusciæ Provinciæ caput*[4] for twelve generations ere yet the upstart Florence dared to contest her hoar supremacy; to whom the Emperor of the East paid tribute;[5] whose consuls owned no less or lower fount of their authority

[1] *Æneid*, x. 179.

[2] Quando Pisa nell' ultimo Oriente
Donna del mar, le squadre sue spingèa.

[3] "In questi tempi, la città di Pisa era in grande a nobile stato di grandi e possenti Cittadini dei più d'Italia . . . e per la loro grandezza erano signori di Sardigna, e di Corsica e d'Elba . . . e quasi dominavano il mare co' loro legni e mercatanzie."—G. VILLANI, *Cronica*, vii. 84. See also G. VOLPE, *Studi sulle istituzioni comunali a Pisa* (Pisa, Tip. Successori Fratelli Nistri, 1902), cap. iv., and more especially pp. 220–221.

[4] So called by Liutprand, Bishop of Verona, in 925. Compare, for similar expressions, VOLPE, *op. cit.*, p. 166 and note 3.

[5] See SISMONDI, *Storia delle Repubbliche Italiane dei Secoli di Mezzo* (Milano, Pagnoni), vol. i. cap. xi. p. 217.

than the Almighty Himself;[1] to Pisa, the Imperial, Ghibelline to the last,—like Abdiel,

> faithful found
> Among the faithless, faithful only he;
> Among innumerable false, unmoved,
> Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,—

belongs, of right, the foremost place; and therefore, first among Italian games, would I speak of that

> . . . illustre avanzo e immago unica altera
> Del Tosco Marte, e dell' Elèa tenzone,

the ever memorable *Giuoco del Ponte.*

I

On the floor of a certain bare and dusty room, in the *Museo Civico* of Pisa, are to be seen some hundreds of ancient iron helmets and cuirasses, together with a quantity of wooden shields, in shape not unlike those which are depicted in the Bayeux tapestry—broad and rounded at one end; narrowing towards a point at the other. Behind these, in an almost inaccessible corner, is a heap of ragged quilted material, which, at first sight, looks as if it might have been swept out of some long-forgotten lumber room, or picked up off some rubbish heap.

In another part of the same building, a number of huge banners hang upon the walls; while a third and smaller apartment is occupied by the model of a bridge, the space at either end of which is surrounded by a miniature fence or palisade; the entire surface of the bridge itself being covered with roughly carved wooden figures, fashioned after the manner of ninepins, arranged in ordered files, according to their various colours. On the walls are several old prints, and a large and badly executed oil painting. Here, too, are to be seen more shields, helmets and cuirasses.

[1] So in a document of 1119, we read: "Ildebrandus, nunc Dei gratia Pisanorum consul;" and, in another, of 1153: "Nos in excellenti pisanae urbis specula, disponente domino, consules constituti;" while, in a third, of 1164, we again meet with the expression "consules Dei gratia Pisanorum."—See VOLPE, *op. cit.*, p. 135 and note 1 p. 136.

Such is all that remains to keep alive the memory of that once famous pastime, which aroused such fierce enthusiasm among the Pisans, and inspired so many poets to sing *il glorioso, l'immortal Ponte.*[1]

Since the *Giuoco del Ponte* was celebrated in Pisa for the last time in 1807, it behoves him who would speak thereof to explain how it was played, by what rules it was governed, and with what festivities connected; describing both the ἀγὼν and the ἑορτή.

The *Giuoco del Ponte*, then, may be defined as a mimic battle, fought upon the central bridge of the city—the Ponte di Mezzo—which still bears the following record of the game, carved upon one of the pilasters, at its northern end:

EN MOLES
OLIM LAPIDEA—VIX AETATEM FERENS
NUNC MARMOREA
PULCHRIOR ET FIRMIOR STAT
SIMULATO MARTE
VIRTUTIS VERAE SPECIMEN
SAEPE DATURA

This inscription dates from the year 1660, when the present bridge was completed, during the reign of Ferdinand de' Medici, the second of that name.

Undoubtedly, the most authoritative work on the *Giuoco del Ponte* is the *Oplomachia Pisana* of Camillo Borghi, who wrote at the beginning of the 18th century, when the game was at the height of its popularity.[2] He divides his book into thirty-five "*Quesiti,*" or "Questions," the first of which naturally is: *Qual sia l'Origine del Giuoco del Ponte;* and, following in his footsteps, we too may well make the origin of the game the subject of our first enquiry.

[1] Da cento, e mille penne celebrato,
Son pur di Pisa il glorioso PONTE,
. . . . . .
. . . l'immortal PONTE io sono.

[2] *L'Oplomachia Pisana, ovvero la Battaglia del Ponte di Pisa descritta da* CAMILLO RANIER BORGHI, *Nobil Pisano, etc.* In Lucca, 1713.—The copy which I possess contains the following inscription on the title page, presumably in the hand of Camillo Borghi himself: "L'Autore all' Eccmo Sigr Dott. Anto Franco Giovannelli."

PALIO AND PONTE

By some writers it is maintained that the *Giuoco del Ponte* was a direct offshoot of the Olympic Games, having been instituted by Pelops, the son of Tantalus, the son of Zeus, when he came from Pisa in Elis, and founded the Italian Pisæ. Others declare that it was introduced by the Pisæi who fought under Nestor at Troy, and who, fearing to return to Greece, lest, by reason of the number of their prisoners, they should not find sustenance for so many folk, turned their prows toward the Etrurian shores, where they knew there was already a Greek city. Arrived at Pisæ, they were warmly welcomed, and established themselves upon the southern bank of the Arnus, whereacross they built bridges, connecting the old colony with the new. Upon one of these, it is pretended that they used to meet in mimic battle, thus initiating a form of pastime which subsequently developed into the *Giuoco del Ponte.*

Others, yet again, attribute the origin of the game to the Romans; some to Nero, some to Hadrian; although such evidence as we possess upon the subject seems to be quite opposed to the idea that either of those emperors ever visited Pisæ.

Nor is the tradition which ascribes the institution of the game to the year 1005 much more reliable. At that period, Pisa, like so many other Italian cities, was unwalled; and it is related that, while her army was absent at the siege of Reggio in Calabria, Mogáhid (or, as he is generally called by the Italian chroniclers, Musetto), King of the Saracens, came from Sardinia, and attacked the town, in the night-time, while all the Pisans slept. He sacked and burned the southern portion, and then advanced to cross the bridge. Here, however, he was confronted by the citizens, who had been aroused by a noble matron called Chinsica Gismondi, and so furiously did they assail the invaders that they put them to an ignominious flight. Henceforward, the southern part of the city bore the name of *Chinsica*, in memory of that courageous lady, whose statue may still be seen in the Via S. Martino; and the Senate commanded that, for all time to come, the victory should be commemorated by a mimic battle, to be fought upon the bridge whereon the

combat had commenced. Thus it is that Nozzolini, in his *Sardegna recuperata*, sings:

> Anzi perchè l'altr' jer là su quel ponte,
> Incontro ai Saracin le vostre spade
> Si mostrar si valorose e pronte,
> Ch' alla vittoria lor troncar le strade,
> Acciò divengan manifeste e conte
> L'alte prodezze alla futura etade
> Su quel ponte medesmo a vostra gloria
> Eterna altrui se ne farà memoria.

Now, although there is, perhaps, no reason to deny that Mogáhid, King of Sardinia, did actually surprise and sack the southern portion of the city, it seems extremely doubtful whether he met with any resistance from the Pisans. As a matter of fact, all the fighting men were absent, only the aged and infirm, the women and children, having been left behind. These appear to have taken refuge in the neighbouring mountains at the first alarm; and, according to Lorenzo Tajoli and others, the whole town would have been destroyed, had not the Saracens feared to cross the river, terrified by the ringing of the tocsin on the opposite bank.

If there was no battle, the whole story at once falls to the ground; while, even if we admit the truth of the legend, another difficulty immediately confronts us in the form of a discrepancy of date. From time immemorial, the Pisan game was played on the 17th of January, whereas the invasion of the Saracens must have taken place in the summer; since, if we may believe the chroniclers, the Pisans departed for the siege of Reggio on the 6th of June 1005, and returned on the 6th of August of the same year.

The fact is that these legends probably owe their existence to much the same method of research as derived the name Pistoia from *pistolenza*, a pestilence; Lucca from *lucere*, to shine, because she was the first Tuscan city to receive the light of Christianity; Siena from *senex*, because Brennus left his aged warriors in that place; and Pisa from *pesare*, to weigh, because the Romans received their tributes there.[1]

[1] See P. VILLARI, *I primi due secoli della Storia di Firenze* (Firenze, Sansoni, 1898), vol. i. pp. 53-54; and compare BUCKLE'S *History of Civilization in England* (London, 1867), vol. i. p. 313; TRENCH, *On the Study of Words* (seventeenth edition), pp. 292 *et seq.*

Thus, in endeavouring to ascertain the origin of the *Giuoco del Ponte*, the name of the game was accepted as the point of departure. It was played on a bridge, and was called "the Game of the Bridge"; obviously its origin must have had something to do with a bridge. It was also perfectly clear that, as the origin of Pisa was ancient and glorious, that of her national pastime must be ancient and glorious too. The next step was to ransack the chronicles for some incident of sufficient antiquity and splendour connected with a bridge. If Horatius Cocles had been a Pisan, the *Giuoco del Ponte* would undoubtedly have been traced back to him.

Unfortunately for this method of investigation, the Pisan game appears originally not to have been played upon a bridge at all; while, according to the best authorities, it only acquired its name of *Giuoco del Ponte* towards the close of the 15th century, at which period it commenced to be celebrated on the Ponte di Mezzo. Indeed, as a matter of fact, it would seem to have been merely a local development of the ancient *Giuoco del Mazzascudo*, which, with various modifications, was played in almost all the cities of Tuscany and Umbria,[1] during the 13th century, and which was so called because those who took part in it were armed with a club (*mazza*) and with a shield (*scudo*). Essentially a military game, it was, for the foot-soldiers who formed the bulk of the Communal armies, what the tournament was to the old feudal nobility, who, after their subjection and admission to citizenship, constituted the cavalry branch of the service. Nor does it appear to me unreasonable to suppose that the various Companies, which, each under its separate banner, took part in the *Giuoco del Mazzascudo*, had a more or less intimate connection with the *societates armorum*, which, in the aggregate, constituted the civic militia.

In Pisa, the first half of the 13th century saw the ancient system of division by Gates (*porte*) superseded by division by Quarters (*quartieri*) and by Churches (*cappelle*). The

[1] I do not, of course, intend to state that the game was confined to these two provinces. Thus, early in the 14th century, we have an example of a similar pastime in Pavia.—See MURATORI, *Antiquitates*, Diss. xxix., and compare the *Rer. Italic. Script.*, xi. 22.

Quartieri were delimited shortly after 1164,[1] under the names of *Chinsica* or *Cinzica*, *Foriporta*,[2] *di Mezzo* and *Ponte*; and, in like manner, the contado was divided into four parts. It was, however, in the main, upon the division of the population by *cappelle* that the organization of the military companies was based; and thus, in a sense, we may regard the *societates armorum* as parochial institutions. At the same time, it is necessary to remember that, in the Middle Ages, men of the same trade generally lived together in the same part of the city;[3] so that the several military companies were also largely representative of different *Arti*—a fact which must have tended to increase their cohesion and discipline, because each *Arte* naturally exercised jurisdiction over its own members.

In 1237, we have record of over twenty of such societies: the *Compagnie della Spada, della Resta, degli Orbelli* (?), *di Porta a Mare, di Ponte nuovo, della Rosa, della Lancia, del Leone imperiale, del Cervo, della Viola, della Tavola rotonda, dei Sanguigni, dei Bingotti* (?), *della Luna, del Giglio, dell' Aquila, della Branca, degli Spiedi, della Ciabrera* (?), *della Croce di S. Sebastiano, della Croce di S. Cristina, della Croce de Vite* (?), and *di San Paolo*—their names being taken either from a church, or from the device upon the standard of the Company, just as was the case with the Bolognese societies.[4]

In the 14th century, many of these Companies still continued to exist; as, for example, the *Compagnia della Spada* in the Quartiere di Ponte near the Porta del Leone; those of the *Tavola rotonda*, and of the *Rosa*, in the neighbourhood of the Ponte Vecchio; and that of the *Spiedi* in Cinzica.[5] Others

[1] BONAINI, *Statuti*, i., *Br. Consulum, ad annum 1164*, p. 30. "De coaequatione ac divisione civitatis in quatuor partes facienda etc. consilium quaeram etc."

[2] *Foriporta* or *Forisporta*, as the name indicates, was once outside the gates (compare p. 58 note 1 *supra*). The *Quartiere di Mezzo* probably contained almost the whole of the original city.—See G. VOLPE, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[3] In Cinzica and Foriporta, the Arte della Lana was predominant; the apothecaries (*speziali*) clustered around S. Paolo in Cinzica; the shops of the sword-cutlers (*spadai*) were, for the most part, on the Lungarno; the shield-makers (*scudai*) had a district of their own, known as the "*scutaria*"; the tanners (*cuoiai; pellai*) dwelt around their proper church; while S. Viviana appears to have been the *cappella* of the bow-makers (*arcari*).

[4] G. VOLPE, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

[5] *Documenti per servire alla Storia della Milizia Italiana* in the "Arch. stor. it.," tom. xv. pp. xvi, 10; G. VOLPE, *op. cit.*, pp. 389-390.

had changed their names; but they were simply *societates novae de hominibus veteribus*; for, although the formation of new societies had been forbidden, the members of the old societies were permitted *esse in soc. nova filiola ipsius soc. veteris tantum.*[1]

In the latter half of the 13th century, the contado also was divided into military companies, of which, in 1303, there were eight.[2]

Having premised thus much of the military organization of Pisa, we may now turn our attention to the *Giuoco del Mazzascudo*, concerning which we are able to glean many important details from an old poem, apparently written in the 15th century,[3] and which, from internal evidence, seems to belong to that class of compositions which were sung by *jongleurs* or *canta-storie*, in the castles of the nobles and on the piazze and streets of the cities. It is headed as follows: "*Inchomincia il giocho del massa-schudo lo quale si solea fare impisa restossi di giochare in del a.d. mcccvij.*"

The first three stanzas consist of an invocation to the Deity, to whom the poet gives praise and glory,

> sì che p[r]incipio bel bello delle mie rime
> a ciascun piaccia e il mezo e la fine.

This he follows by an appeal to his audience for a favourable hearing:

> E voi singnori, li quali mascholterete,
> s' i' dicho chosa che impiacier vi sia,
> per vostra chortezia miloderete.

In the fifth stanza, he commences to sing the *Giocho del Massaschudo*,

> che veramente
> non credo che almondo fusse mai ne sia
> di quella pari da levante al ponente,
> ne fra i chrispiani ne imseracinia.

---

[1] G. VOLPE, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

[2] *Ibidem*, p. 388 note 5; *Documenti, etc., op. cit.*, pp. xvii, 5.

[3] *Il Giocho del Massa-Schudo; poemetto del secolo XV*, per le nozze del Cav. Conte Agostini Della Seta colla Contessa Teresa Marcello. Pisa, Nistri, 1882, in 8°, di soli 50 esemplari.— The poem consists of 43 stanzas of 8 lines each.

Like all similar games, it was a winter pastime, and seems to have been played from Christmas-day until Lent:

e chominciossi il giorno di natale,
e dura infine al dì di charnasciale.

The armour used by the players is thus described:

Chi vuol nel guocho, bei singnori, entrare
chonvien che vada per tal guiza armato:
buona chorassa, ghambiere e chosciale,
elelmo intesta fortemente alaciato,
el forte schudo li [con]viene imbracciare
che giusto imfine in terra e appuntato,
e dala destra mano porta un bastone
chonun ghuanto atacchato perragione.

The game was played in the Piazza degli Anziani, or, as it is now called, de' Cavalieri—the same where once stood the celebrated Moulting Tower.[1] From Christmas to Shrove Tuesday the central portion of the square was fenced in by a circle of chains (*un cierchio di chatene*), with an opening, at either end (*due bocche*), to allow the combatants to enter. The arena was kept clear by the attendants of the Potestà and of the Signoria, who remained on duty the whole day, so that individual players might be able to try conclusions with one another at any hour which suited their convenience.

E sempre vi sta dentro la famiglia
Del potestà e dela singnoria
del chapitano e non lassano entrare
nessuno se già non fusse giochatore
cha uno a uno si volesse provare.
Questi possono entrare a tutte lore.

These single combats seem to have been especially appreciated by our poet, for he tells us that

. . . sopromgnaltra bellessa mi pare
vederli insieme a uno a un provarsi
cho larme indosso e per forsa bracciarsi.

For the battle royal the players were divided into two parties, called *del Gallo* and *della Gazza*, the Party of the Cock, and the Party of the Magpie. The first wore gilded helmets, the second vermilion. These the wearers might decorate with what devices they pleased; but the red and the

[1] See p. 13 note 2 *supra*.

gold must always remain visible, because they were the distinguishing colours, by which alone it was possible, in the heat of the combat, to know friends from foes.

Posson daglielmi infuora tutti portare
quella diviza chaloro e impiacere;
ma lelmo non si puo trasfighurare,
chel giallo el rosso si chonvien vedere,
si che quando e impiassa per provare
lun laltro si chonoscie e puo vedere
a chui elli da, si che non si credesse
dare animici e a suoi propij desse.

Each side was again subdivided into companies, with their proper banners and devices. The names of some of them are already familiar to us, in connection with the *societates armorum*; and, for all that I know to the contrary, they may have been actually identical with those associations, some of which, as we have seen, did undoubtedly change their names from time to time. Thus, besides the *Tavola rotonda* and the *Rosa*, we have the *Cervo nero*, the *Cervo bianco*, the *Drago*, the *Spina* and the *Cappelletto* (all five of them being enumerated in a rubric of the *Statutes of the Companies of the People of Pisa*, of the year 1302,[1] while we shall encounter the *Drago* again, among the Companies which took part in the *Giuoco del Ponte*), the *Allegra donna*, the *Uomo selvatico*, the *Falcone*, the *Leocorno*, the *Ribaldo*, the *Saracino*, etc. etc.

All the piazza was decked with gala trappings, and the balconies were crowded with fair ladies, richly dressed and resplendent with jewels.

Vedevi intorno aparir razi doro,
tanto lucienti chapena ghuardare
ti soferiva imverso di loro;
e vedi di sopra a que balchoni stare
que vizi belli adorni di tezoro
che lingua domo nol poria chontare
le gran ricchesse e le veste pompose
di drapi perle e pietre presiose.

In the Palagio Maggiore were the magistrates with all the principal citizens.

The Companies entered the piazza, to the sound of music

[1] See the *Archivio storico italiano*, tom. xv. pp. 9–12.

and with waving banners; each side taking up its position at its own *bocca.* Then began a series of single combats, among lovers, upon whose shields were painted the faces of their ladies, and each of whom was minded to prove his mistress fairest of the fair, by dint of blows and strength of arm, after the old knightly way.

Bem si chonoschon quelli innamorati,
i quali non posson loro amor cielare,
chon vigi di lor donne disengnati
ne belli schudi di cholor portare,
poi sopra larme i drappi lavorati
chomque cimieri chuna nobilta pare
o quanto ongnuno si sforsa di provarsi
arditamente, sol per dimostrarsi.
Le lor donne che stanno a vedere
li smizurati cholpi che si danno
do quante ve ne chel vorrebeno avere
inanti imbracio che in chotanto afanno
vederli im quelle arme sostenere
e non monstran di fuor quel che dentro anno.

Then, a blast of trumpets recalled the combatants to the ranks; a second blast, and both armies entered the lists, and took up their positions in ordered files, amid the waving of countless banners and pennons. At the third blast, the battle joined,

chon si gran furore
che fanno imfine al cielo le vocie andare,
tanto nel chominciare el gran romore
e chomgran forsa choli schudi urtare
poi chole masse provar chon vighore.

The struggle continued until one side or the other was beaten out of the field;

e que cheschon fuora del cierchio son perdenti,
e rimanghon dentro que che son vincienti.

Such a game was no child's play, and must often have resulted in serious injury to those who took part in it; but it does not seem to have produced ill-blood.

E sono stati quel giorno nimici
nella battaglia, e poi chan dezinati,
tutti rimanghon fratelli e amici,
e poi insieme si son ritrovati
più fratevolemente e più felici
che fussen mai, e anno dimentichati
tutti gli oltraggi che nel di fattanno
e serban la vendetta inelaltranno.

Nor was it only in the Piazza degli Anziani that the Pisans played at *Mazzascudo*. In 1168, according to the chroniclers, a game took place on the ice-covered surface of the Arno, which that winter was frozen so hard that ox-waggons traversed it in safety; while, in 1264, the Ghibelline allies having ravaged the country up to the walls of Lucca, the Pisans not only ran a palio,[1] but also played a game of *Mazzascudo* within sight of the beleaguered city. The incident is thus described by Roncioni, in his *Istorie pisane*: "On the fourth day of October, the Pisans, with their Sienese and Pistolese allies, burned the Borgo di San Pietro, and repassing the bridge in triumph, they came even to the Prato di Lucca,[2] and there, beneath the walls of the city and on its very gates, they coined money, and no man said them nay; pieces of the value of two soldi of that ancient alloy, on one side whereof was stamped the Eagle victorious and crowned. Also they knighted divers knights; and they shot many quarrels out of their cross-bows into the city, together with many *verghe sardesche*.[3] Moreover, in that same place, for a sign of victory, and to the passing great joy of them that looked thereon, the Pisans played among themselves a game of *Mazzascudo*, most ancient and most rare, and worthy of any prince how great soever he might be—*antichissimo e rarissimo, e degno di qualsivoglia gran principe*."[4]

It is perhaps worthy of notice, in this connection, that the

[1] See p. 20 *supra*.

[2] The *Prato di Lucca* was an open space outside the walls to the west of the city, between the modern gates of S. Pietro and S. Donato. It extended as far as the Serchio, and was used as a public recreation ground. There the palii were run, and there also was held the fair or market of San Regolo (see S. BONGI, *Bandi Lucchesi*, *op. cit.*, p. 340 note). Fazio degli Uberti seems to have regarded it as a special beauty of the town.

> Andando noi vedemmo in piccol cerchio
> Torreggiar Lucca a guisa d'un boschetto
> E donnearsi col *prato* e col Serchio.—*Dittamondo*, iii. 6.

Of the value which the Italians of the 14th century attached to such a *prato o vero luogo a deletto et gaudio*, we may gain some idea from a section in the *Costituto del C. di Siena—volgarizzato, etc.*, *op. cit.*, Dist. iii. Rubr. 291. "Di fare uno prato intra le porte di Camollia."

[3] "The *verga sardesca* (says Canestrini) was classed among arms of the genus *gladii*, such as *spate, pennati, dardi, macie di ferro*, etc. It must have been an iron lance of a special form, ordinarily used in Sardinia; from which fact it took its name after its adoption in other localities. See DU-CANGE, under the word *Sardeschus; virga sardischa*."—"Arch. stor. it.," tom. xv. p. xv. note.

[4] "Arch. stor. it.," tom. vi. parte i. p. 555; *Rer. Italic. Script.*, vi. 195.

Giuoco del Mazzascudo passed into Sardinia; but the Pisans, either because they believed that the playing of such a game in any part of their dominions, except in Pisa itself, would imperil the public peace, or because they considered it a special glory of their city, prohibited it, and ordered the Consuls of the Castello di Castro, "whenever they should see or hear that, in the said Castello di Castro, men were minded to play or combat at *Mazzascudo*, to go incontinently with those citizens whom they could trust, and seek to the utmost of their power to prevent that game or battle being made on anywise."[1]

II

Alas for Pisa, when that *Ludus ad Massa-Scutum* was played beneath the walls of Lucca, her days of victory were nearly over. The obstinacy of Farinata at the Parliament of Empoli had frustrated the wise plans of the Ghibelline chiefs who desired to *tôr via Fiorenza*; and no Tuscan Cato arose during the all too brief period which intervened between the glorious day of Montaperto and the death of Manfred on the field of Benevento, to weary out a short-sighted and sentimental opposition, by the persistent enunciation of the only saving policy: *Delenda est Florentia.*

Even during the Ghibelline domination (1260–1266) Florence was too powerful; for, albeit regarded in its military aspect the victory of the Arbia was complete and crushing, politically its results were transitory; and when, ten years later, Siena forsook her ancient faith to join the Guelf *Taglia*, Pisa was left alone to be slowly crushed by Genoa and Florence. Yet, though half her fleet was destroyed at Meloria (1284), and though so many of her noblest sons were carried captive by the Genoese that it became a common saying that "to see Pisa, you must go to Genoa," the proud city would not yield. By sea she was almost impotent; Corsica and Sardinia were lost to her for ever, and even the newly-built navies of Florence insulted her with impunity;

[1] *Dissertazioni sopra L'Istoria Pisana* del Cav. FLAMINIO DAL BORGO (Pisa, 1761), tom. i. Diss. vi. p. 400.

but by land she was still formidable, and, in 1315, her military prestige was restored by Uguccione della Faggiuola, who made himself master of Lucca, and broke the Florentines and their Guelf allies at Montecatini. However, if still warlike, Pisa was no longer free. In 1328, she was compelled to submit to the signory of Castruccio Castracane, and, after his death, was misruled by a succession of petty tyrants, until, in 1399, she was ignominiously sold to the Visconti. The end came seven years later, when, by the treachery of Giovanni Gambacorti, she passed, at last, into the hands of Florence. From that moment, Pisa ceased to be a republic even in name. In the Palazzo degli Anziani sat Gino Capponi, the Florentine Governor.

Mr. Howells informs us that "the Florentines treated their captive as well as a mediæval people knew how, and addressed themselves to the restoration of her prosperity";[1] but it is difficult to understand how he reconciles this statement with the instructions given by the Dieci di Balìa to Averardo de' Medici, Commissary in Pisa for the Republic of Florence, who was ordered "con usare ogni crudeltà et ogni asprezza, . . . di votarla di cittadini e contadini Pisani."[2] This was in 1431, and, even in 1419, the once rich and powerful Pisa, who, in the old days, had been wont to make display of her wealth by shooting clouds of arrows tipped with silver against her enemies, "for pageantry and for an everlasting memorial,"[3] was mendicant and deserted. Many of her citizens had died by the sword, and many by famine; many had abandoned their homes rather than submit to servitude; and not a few had been carried off by the pestilence, which seemed to have become endemic throughout the Peninsula. Compelled to populate an almost empty town, the victors issued a proclamation inviting foreigners to take up their residence there, and promising exemption, for twenty years, from every impost both real and personal. Many Germans took advantage of the privileges offered them; and while the new-comers were permitted to bear arms,

[1] *Tuscan Cities* ("The English Library" edition, Leipzig, Heinemann & Balestier, 1900), p. 210.

[2] See the "Arch. stor. it.," tom. vi. parte i. p. 973, n. 2.

[3] *Cronaca di Fra Salimbene Parmigiano, etc., op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 89.

both by day and by night, in the city and in the contado,[1] the Pisans themselves were forbidden to possess weapons of any kind. Indeed, as we learn from the manuscript chronicle of Ubaldo Arrosti, preserved among the Pisan archives, the citizens, at the time of their surrender, had even been deprived of the wooden clubs with which they used to play at *Mazzascudo.*

Nor, if this harsh policy was subsequently relaxed, is it likely that, in those evil days, the Pisans can have had the heart to celebrate their ancient game. For them, the century of the Renaissance was little less than a prolonged agony; and nearly three hundred years later, when Richard Lassels visited the town, the grass still grew in the streets, and he hurried away, fearing that it was plague-smitten.[2] As late as the first quarter of the 19th century, Shelley saw there nothing but

> the desolation of a city
> Which was the cradle, and is now the grave,
> Of an extinguished people, so that pity
> Weeps o'er the shipwrecks of oblivion's wave.

There, as elsewhere, slavery to Florence destroyed not only scholarship, painting, sculpture, architecture and free-thought, but also civic energy and wealth. Yet, thanks to the literary genius of her filial panegyrists, Florence has gained the ear of Christendom, and only within the last few years have men begun to perceive that many of her glories are borrowed glories, and all her crimes are her own.[3]

In the last half of the 15th century, the saying of Guicciardini that, while a republic confers the benefits of

[1] AMMIRATO, *Istorie Fiorentine* (edition cited), tom. iv. p. 286; *Annali Pisani di* PAOLO TRONCI, *rifusi, arricchiti di molti fatti e sequitati fino all' anno 1839* (seconda edizione, 1871), tom. ii. p. 235.

[2] *The Voyage of Italy* (edition of 1670), part i. p. 228.

[3] Compare Prof. L. DOUGLAS' *History of Siena, op. cit.*, pp. 80, 352, and an article by the same author on *The Real Cimabue*, in the "Nineteenth Century and After" of March 1903. — It is interesting to note that Professor L. Zdekauer, perhaps the greatest living authority on Tuscan history, has arrived at very similar conclusions. In a recent letter to me he thus expresses himself: "Sono profondamente convinto che Langton Douglas in sostanza ha ragione, perchè ciò che egli ha osservato nel campo dell' Arte io l'ho riscontrato indipendentemente in molti altri campi, in modo che la conclusione di L. D. assomiglia a quella del mio *Constituto* (p. cvii)." See also the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, vol. x. (1903), pp. 126–130.

liberty only upon its own citizens, a monarchy "è più comune a tutti," was illustrated in the case of Pisa; and the yoke of the oppressor was somewhat lightened. Lorenzo the Magnificent showed himself benevolent towards her, as indeed did most of the Medicean princes. Cheap Lombard woollens, before prohibited, were admitted to Pisan territory, a great boon to the labouring classes; and, in 1491, a treaty was entered into with England, whereby she engaged to supply wool for all Italy, except Venice, through the port of Pisa. The five "Consoli del Mare" now became an important Florentine magistracy, and one of their principal duties was to revive the prosperity of Pisa.[1] Already her University had received generous endowment from the State, and this was supplemented by Papal benefaction, and by the private generosity of Lorenzo.[2] It was then too that Benozzo Gozzoli executed his frescoes in the Campo Santo (1469–1481). Agriculture throve, and Pisa was galvanized into life.

It is to this period that Camillo Borghi attributes the development of the *Giuoco del Mazzascudo* into that of *Ponte*. By Lorenzo, he tells us, the *targa* was substituted for the ancient *scudo*; while, shortly afterwards, Giovanni de' Medici, the father of the Grand Duke Cosimo I., "caused the *targhe* to be exchanged for *targoni* or *pavesi*, of the same form and fashion as we still see in our day."

III

Since the *Giuoco del Ponte* was, as I have said, a mimic battle, fought on the central bridge of the City of Pisa, it may not be without interest to devote a few words to the history of that bridge.

Originally, it seems to have been constructed entirely of timber; but Roncioni informs us that, after the conquest of the Lipari Islands, the Pisans returned home loaded with spoil, and "commenced, at vast expense—*con magnificentissimo mano*—to build of stone the Ponte Vecchio, which aforetime

[1] E. ARMSTRONG, *Lorenzo de' Medici* (edition cited), pp. 250–251.
[2] *Ibidem*, p. 386.

Ecco su l'Arno la Pisana gente
In finto agone ad giocolar del Ponte,
Cornillo Caniglias Com.r de Alcaino Gent.o di S. M.tà Cesa.
Escin gioconda pugna hà fermi pronte,
Ebbe già in campo ostil guerriera mente.

THE PONTE DI MEZZO

FROM AN ENGRAVING OF 1634

was of wood." It appears, however, from the account which the chroniclers have left us of the erection of the new bridge, some three centuries later, that, in 1046, the foundations only were made of stone. Thus we read, in the *Annali pisani*, that, "in the month of January, in the year of Our Lord, One thousand three hundred and eighty two, Messer Piero Gambacorti,[1] with certain citizens of Pisa and with the Signori Anziani, resolved to cause the Ponte Vecchio of Pisa to be destroyed. Now this bridge was made all of wood, save only the foundations (*eccetto che lo fondamento di sotto*), which were of stone. And thereupon stood many shops, which paid a yearly revenue to the Pontenaro of the Commune of Pisa of more than 500 florins. Now they were minded to remove these shops, to the end that they who went upon the bridge might be able to behold the Lungarno freely, and that the view of the Arno and of the houses of the Lungarno, the fairest sight in Pisa (*il bello di Pisa*), might no longer be obstructed, the same being best seen from this bridge, standing, as it doth, in the centre of the City of the Arno of Pisa. And to reconstruct the said bridge all of stone, they sold many possessions which formed the source of revenue of the bridges (*li quali erano dell' entrate delli ponti*); and they levied two *prestanze* also, for it was a great and costly labour. And, on the xivth day of April MCCCLXXXIII, they began to destroy the said Ponte Vecchio."[2]

Of this new bridge, we have a representation in a seventeenth-century print, preserved in the *Museo Civico*, from which it appears to have been perfectly level; while, although the wooden shops, which fenced in the roadway of the ancient structure, had been demolished, the summits of the buttresses,

[1] The attentive reader will doubtless remember that, on p. 87 *supra*, I wrote, "*Misser* Piero Gambacorti," while here I have adopted the form *Messer*. In so doing I am simply following the orthography of the chronicles from which I quote. *Missere* is the Sienese word, *Messere* the Florentine and Pisan.—Compare Uberto Benvoglienti's note to the *Cronaca Sanese*, in MURATORI, *Rer. Italic. Script.*, xv. col. 137, nota 8.

[2] In this connection, it may be as well to mention that, according to the Pisan method of computation, the year commenced with the 25th of March dating *ab incarnatione*. This was the case also with the Sienese and Florentine calendars; but, while the two last-mentioned peoples dated their year from the 25th March following the commencement of the common year, the Pisans dated it from the 25th March preceding the commencement of the common year.

on either side of the piers which supported the three arches of the new bridge, were crowned with small single-storey houses.

This bridge was swept away by floods, in the winter of 1635, and was replaced by a single arch, which spanned the Arno for its entire breadth. At this time, many houses were pulled down, at either end of the bridge, thus forming, on the north, the Piazza del Ponte, and, on the south, the Piazza de' Banchi. The new structure, however, soon shared the fate of its predecessor, and fell into the river, a little after midnight, on the 1st of January 1644. To it succeeded the modern Ponte di Mezzo, which was designed by Francesco Nave of Rome, and was completed, as I have said, in 1660.[1]

According to Camillo Borghi, as a result of these disasters, the *Giuoco del Ponte* was played from 1637 to 1659 in the Strada de' Setaioli.[2]

IV

In the *Giuoco del Ponte*, the citizens who dwelt on the northern bank of the Arno contended against those who dwelt on the southern bank; and not the citizens only, but also the inhabitants of the country districts. For the contado, as well as the city, was divided into two regions for the purposes of the game; and Cav. Felice Tribolati informs us that, some quarter of a century ago, it was no uncommon thing to see, hanging, above the doorway of a contadino's house, the *targone* with which his sires played at Ponte, or to hear from the lips of some grey-headed peasant tales of the last great battle in which he himself had taken part, as well as of those many earlier contests in whose toils and glories his father and grandfather before him had had their share.[3]

The players on either side were divided into six companies or squadrons (*squadre*), each containing from thirty to sixty

[1] See MURATORI, *Rer. Italic. Script.*, xv. 1080; RONCIONI, *ubi cit.*, pp. 81, 934; SARDO, "Arch. stor. it.," vi. ii. 207; MORRONA, *Pisa illustrata nelle Arti del desegno* (Livorno, Marenigh, 1812), iii. 352 *seq.*; REPETTI, *Dizionario geografico fisico storico della Toscana* (Firenze, 1833), iv. 366; *Annali Pisani di* PAOLO TRONCI, *rifusi etc.*, *op. cit.*, ii. 183–184.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

[3] F. TRIBOLATI, *Il Gioco del Ponte* (Firenze, Tip. della Gazzetta d'Italia, 1877), p. 5.

soldiers (*soldati*); and every squadron possessed its own distinctive colours and ensign.

The squadrons of the South were called *Sant' Antonio, San Martino, San Marco, Leoni, Dragoni*, and *Delfini*. *Sant' Antonio's* banner was flame colour; *San Martino's* white, black and red; *San Marco's* white and yellow; that of the *Leoni* was black and white; that of the *Dragoni* green and white; and that of the *Delfini* blue and yellow. The squadrons of the North were *Santa Maria*, whose colours were blue and white; *San Michele*, white and red; the *Calci*, green, white and gold; *Calcesana*, yellow and black; the *Mattaccini*, white, blue and peach-blossom; the *Satiri*, red and black.

The banners were of silk and of a goodly size, each painted with the device of its proper squadron. Thus, on the banner of *Sant' Antonio* there was a pig; on that of *San Marco*, a winged lion with a book in its paw, bearing the legend, PAX TIBI MARCE; on that of *San Michele*, the Archangel overthrowing the Dragon; and, in like manner, each banner was ornamented with some figure allusive to the name of the squadron to which it belonged.[1]

The period at which these squadrons were first instituted, the reason why they were so called, and their original numbers, are as uncertain as is everything else connected with the earliest stages in the evolution of the *Giuoco del Ponte*. In 1569 and 1574, each side was divided into ten squadrons; while, in 1589, in the game played to celebrate the wedding of Ferdinand I., the third Grand Duke of Tuscany, the South had eight squadrons, the North nine. In 1608, when the Pisans celebrated a *Giuoco del Ponte* in Florence, on the occasion of the marriage of Cosimo II. with Donna Maria Maddalena of Austria, there were ten squadrons on each side.

As to the names of the squadrons, Camillo Borghi is inclined to think that some of them, such as *Santa Maria, Sant' Antonio* and *San Martino*, were called after the

[1] In the *Narrazione succinta del famoso Giuoco del Ponte* of FROSINI (Codex 230 of the R. Biblioteca Universitaria of Pisa) will be found 12 water colour paintings of these banners. They have been reproduced in the *Emporium, Rivista mensile illustrata, etc.* (Bergamo), vol. xii. N°. 72, Dicembre 1900.

parishes or districts of the city to which those who composed them belonged; while the rest he supposes to have taken their names from their devices. He bases this opinion upon the manuscript *Orationes* of Valerio Chimentelli, from which he quotes the following sentence: *Sex utrinque Cohortes variis nominibus, partim ab ea urbis regione, quam incolunt, partim a tesseris sive imaginibus, quas gestant, sic Leones, Satyros, Dracones se vocant.*

This statement, of course, immediately carries our thoughts back to the old military companies. Neither does it seem unreasonable to suppose that, when the game of *Mazzascudo* was revived in its more modern form of the *Giuoco del Ponte*, the Pisans, mindful of their ancient glories, sought to constitute the new *squadre* as nearly as possible upon the same lines as the old *societates armorum.* Moreover, we must not forget that the descent of Charles VIII. into Italy broke for a time the Florentine yoke, and that, between 1499 and 1505, Pisa, once more free, heroically withstood three sieges and repulsed three attacking armies. What more likely than that the military companies of that period, based in all probability on the earlier *societates armorum*, should, in their turn, have given birth to the *squadre* of the Pisan national game?

Originally, as I have said, the *Giuoco del Ponte* was played on the 17th of January, the Feast of St Anthony; but, in course of time, it became usual to play two games, or, as the phrase went, "to make two Battles—*di fare due Battaglie*," in each year; the first on St Anthony's day, to which the name of the *Battagliaccia* was given, and which served as a sort of "colts' match" for new players; while the second, which was called the *Battaglia generale*, took place at such subsequent date as was agreed upon between the parties.

The *Battagliaccia* being over, and the permission of the Government having been obtained to *fare il giuoco di Battaglia generale*, two pavilions were set up, one on either side of the river, and the business of the challenge or *disfida* was proceeded with. The pavilion of the Northern party, the *Cavalieri di Tramontana*, seems as a rule to have stood

at the Sette Colonne; that of the South, the *Cavalieri di Mezzogiorno*, in the Piazza di Banchi.

First, the party which had lost the last game held a council of war, and despatched a drummer to the hostile confines, namely, to the centre of the Bridge, where he sounded to battle. He then retired, returning, after a short interval, to repeat his musical defiance. This he did three times. Thereupon the opposing party, having in its turn held its council of war, answered in like manner. Two days were then fixed by common consent, upon the first of which the challengers should formally present their cartel of defiance (*cartello di sfida*), while, upon the second, the challenged should, with equal formality, present their answer.

During the time which elapsed between the fixing of the day of challenge and its arrival, or, in the technical phraseology of the game, "dalla prima intimazione all' attacco del cartello," the two parties proceeded to the election of their Generals and other officers — Lieutenant Generals, Field Marshals, Councillors, Ambassadors, Captains, Sergeant Majors, Standard-bearers, Corporals, and so forth, each of whom had his especial duties; a matter into which Camillo Borghi enters at great length, and which he discusses in no fewer than sixteen different *Quesiti.*

Then followed the selection of players and the distribution of colours. In the palmy days of the game, this must have given rise to much heart-burning; for those youths who did not play at *Ponte* were regarded as effeminate and worthless; while the laurels won in that conflict often proved the surest passport to the favour of the Pisan ladies. In 1699, so great was the discontent of those who had not been chosen to take part either in the *Battagliaccia* or in the *Battaglia generale*, that, in order to pacify them, it was found necessary "to build a wooden bridge in the Piazza di Santa Caterina, upon which they might exhaust their martial fury." A hundred and ten players took part in the game.

On the evening of the day on which permission was obtained *di fare la battaglia*, the town was lighted up with bonfires; and each succeeding function was hailed as a fresh occasion for holiday-making and general festivity. The

perpetual processions, waving of banners, sound of drums and trumpets and roar of cannon, roused the enthusiasm of the populace to fever heat. The *Signori Comandanti Generali* of either party were carried in triumph upon the shoulders of the crowd, and the standard-bearers marched to the centre of the Bridge to flaunt their colours in the faces of the enemy. The women, at least as excited as their sons and husbands, exchanged shrill defiances whenever they met; while even little children could not pass other children of the opposite party without doubling up their chubby fists, and giving proof of their patriotism by assault and battery, rolling together in the gutters, cuffing, biting, and kicking, with a fervour which left nothing to be desired.[1]

On the day destined for the formal presentation of the *cartello di sfida*, each party once more reared its pavilion, whereunder the *Deputati*, the General and the other officials sat in state, surrounded by the nobility of the city and the most approved and prudent warriors. Outside, the street leading from the pavilion to the Bridge was thronged with an expectant multitude. Here were to be seen the majority of the soldiers with swords at their sides, and here all the adherents of the party of every rank and condition, men, women and children, in their thousands.

Through the centre of the crowd, a pathway was kept clear for the heralds; and, at the appointed time, the herald of the challengers, who was always a youth of illustrious lineage, issued from the pavilion of his party, accompanied by two other gentlemen and by a numerous body of attendants armed with swords.

Scarcely had he passed the centre of the Bridge, and set foot in hostile territory, than his coming was welcomed by a discharge of artillery. He was conducted with all due ceremony to the pavilion of the enemy, where he presented his cartel of defiance, and departed.[2] The same formalities

[1] C. BORGHI, *op. cit.*, p. 56. "I piccoli fanciulli in quei giorni che sono interposti dalla disfida alla battaglia, con pugni, con calci, con morsi, con sassi, e simili si percuotano e malamente si trattino per il Viva del loro partito."

[2] In the *Relazione delle funzioni fatte in Pisa in occasione del Gioco del Ponte* (an 18th century MS. quoted by TRIBOLATI, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–23) we read that the herald of the challengers was "ricevuto al solito con tutto l'onore al campo nemico, e condotto nella

were observed by the challenged party in sending their acceptance to the challengers.

The following specimens will serve to indicate the style in which these documents were conceived:

"To the Valorous Knights of the North.

"Your victory, O Knights of the North, redounds also to our glory, in that we generously contended with your puissance. Nevertheless, the doubtful result of a fierce Battle, which gave to you the advantage by a few scant feet of hardly-disputed ground, inspired us also with the belief that your victory was mainly due to chance. Therefore, more confidently than ever before, do we challenge you to a new trial of strength, prepared to prove that, without the aid of Fortune, your utmost courage cannot resist our valour. The day which you shall propose will be also the day of our triumph, and will demonstrate that, of a truth, we yielded not to any force of yours but to an inauspicious Destiny.

"From the Pavilion of the Party of the South, this day of

"THE KNIGHTS OF THE SOUTH."

"To the Valorous Knights of the South."

"You deceive yourselves, O Magnanimous Knights of the South, when you think to diminish the lustre of our glory by attributing your defeat to inconstant Fortune. Remember that the laws of that Goddess have never had any validity in the Realm of Valour, under whose banners never is he overcome who fights manfully. The repeated victories which we have obtained over your brave Squadrons suffice to prove your assertions false. Confess yourselves defeated, therefore, but console yourselves with the hope of future success. We accept your challenge, and behold therein a new opportunity for triumph. We await you, then, on the day of the present month, with the usual weapons, and on the accustomed battle-ground, where we will compel

tenda avanti il Signor Comandante ed uffiziali"; while the *Breve e distinta Relazione*, which precedes the *Raccolta di Poetici Componimenti, etc.* (published in Pisa in 1785, to celebrate the victory of the "valorosi ed intrepidi Cavalieri di Mezzogiorno" on the 12th of May of the same year) distinctly speaks of the "cartello" as "presentato al Generale." On the other hand, C. BORGHI (*Quesito* vi.) assures us that the herald "avanti il suddetto Padiglione si porta e senz' altri complimenti che d'un tacito saluto, ad una Statua, che si pone alla destra del Padiglione medesimo, affige il Cartello, e poi di buon passo, con tutti i suoi sequaci, spargendo a nembi copie del medesimo, con voci strepitose d'allegrezza, fa nel suo Campo ritorno."

you to confess that Valour, united to the strength of our good right arms, alone leads to Victory.

"From the Pavilion of the Party of the North, this day of

"THE KNIGHTS OF THE NORTH."

The last *cartelli* are dated the 6th of February 1807, that being the year in which the *Giuoco del Ponte* came to an end, and therein we find the names of the Generals and other officials. This, however, seems to have been quite a new departure, since in earlier times, when names were used at all, it had always been customary to adopt pseudonyms, which were taken, as a rule, from the old Romances.

The benediction of the banners—*velitationis signa*, as they are fancifully called in the *Oremus* of that office—afforded an opportunity for further feste, which were celebrated with great pomp in the Church of S. Niccola or of S. Michele in Borgo by the combatants of the North; and in that of S. Martino, of S. Lorenzo in Chinsica, or of Santa Cristina by the combatants of the South. In the Northern churches, they sang the Mass of the Blessed Virgin; in the Southern, that of St Catherine of Siena, who was regarded as the patron saint of the game, and to whose intercession the Pisans believed it to be due that it was played for so many years without any fatal accident.

The religious rites having been duly performed, the *Alfieri*, or standard-bearers, were conducted, one by one, to their several houses, where the banners were hung from the windows to strains of martial music.

V

At earliest dawn on the Day of Battle, the city was alive with thronging crowds, with blare of trumpets and rolling of drums. After dinner, the Squadrons assembled at the houses of their various *Alfieri*, and then, some three hours before sunset, marched to join their comrades at the *Luogo del Rendevos*, or Mustering Place, which, for the Northern combatants, was the Studio or University of Pisa (commonly

called *La Sapienza*); and for those of the South the Portici and the Piazza di San Sepolcro. Here the General briefly addressed his army, and then gave orders for the march.[1]

This March of the Armies—*il Far le Mostre*, as the Pisans called it—must have been one of the most imposing of the many pageants connected with the *Giuoco del Ponte*.

At the head of each army were led two richly caparisoned horses, for the use of the General. These were followed by six mounted trumpeters, clad in the colours of the six Squadrons. Next, preceded by six pages on foot, wearing his livery, and followed by his Councillors and Ambassador, on horseback, rode the General himself, gorgeous in gleaming cuirass and jewelled helmet surmounted by waving plumes. In his hand he held a gilded baton, the emblem of command. Behind the Councillors came six horsemen, riding three on either side. Next followed the six pages of the Lieutenant General, and then the Lieutenant General himself, mounted and armed in the same manner as the General. After him rode the Sergeant Major and the Field Marshal, each attended by four pages, the former to the left, the latter to the right. Four more pages preceded the Captain of the first Squadron, who advanced on foot, clad in armour, with the *Mazza* and *Scudo* in his hands, for a perpetual memorial of the origin of the Pisan game. Behind him, to the sound of the drum, and with their *Alfiere* in their midst attended by two pages, marched the Soldiers and *Celatini* of the Squadron, either two and two, or four abreast. They were clad in tunics, and bore shields of the same colours as were displayed upon their banner; while from the points of their shields hung their morions, crowned with plumes.

In the same order followed all the other Squadrons, each with its Captain, its Drummer and its *Alfiere*.

Each Squadron had its fixed place in the procession. The order of the Northern Squadrons was as follows:

1. *Santa Maria.*
2. *San Michele.*
3. The *Mattaccini.*
4. *Calcesana.*
5. The *Satiri.*
6. The *Calci.*

[1] For examples of the kind of speeches made by the Generals to their armies, on these occasions, see the *Raccolta di Poetici Componimenti, etc., op. cit.*, pp. 37–40.

That of the South:

1. *San Martino.*
2. *Sant' Antonio.*
3. *San Marco.*
4. The *Leoni.*
5. The *Dragoni.*
6. The *Delfini.*

When the Grand Duke was in Pisa, the Army of the North, after leaving the Sapienza, proceeded along the Lungarno Reggio to the Palazzo Reale, and, having marched round it, returned, by the same way as it had come, to the Piazza del Ponte. Simultaneously, the Southern Army marched down the Lungarno Gambacorti, on the other side of the river, until it was opposite to the Palace, when it wheeled to the left, and, passing through the Via delle Conce, returned by the Lungarno to the Piazza di Banchi.

When no member of the Grand-ducal family was present, the Armies generally marched direct from their respective mustering places to the Bridge.

Both the Piazza del Ponte and the Piazza di Banchi were enclosed with palisades; the former constituting the camp of the Northern, the latter of the Southern Army. In the centre of the Bridge, raised upon a lofty *antenna* or flag-staff, was displayed the ancient Pisan Standard, with its white cross upon a red field. As the Squadrons moved into position, this was lowered, until the *antenna* lay across the Bridge, from parapet to parapet, dividing the hostile ranks.

The reader who is curious as to the precise disposition of the players, is referred to the accompanying diagram, adapted from the *Oplomachia Pisana* of Camillo Borghi. In the same work are also to be found three sketches (here reproduced), marked respectively "Tau^{a} P^{ma}," "Tau^{a} 2^{a}," and "Tau^{a} 3^{a}," which illustrate the various pieces of armour used by the combatants.

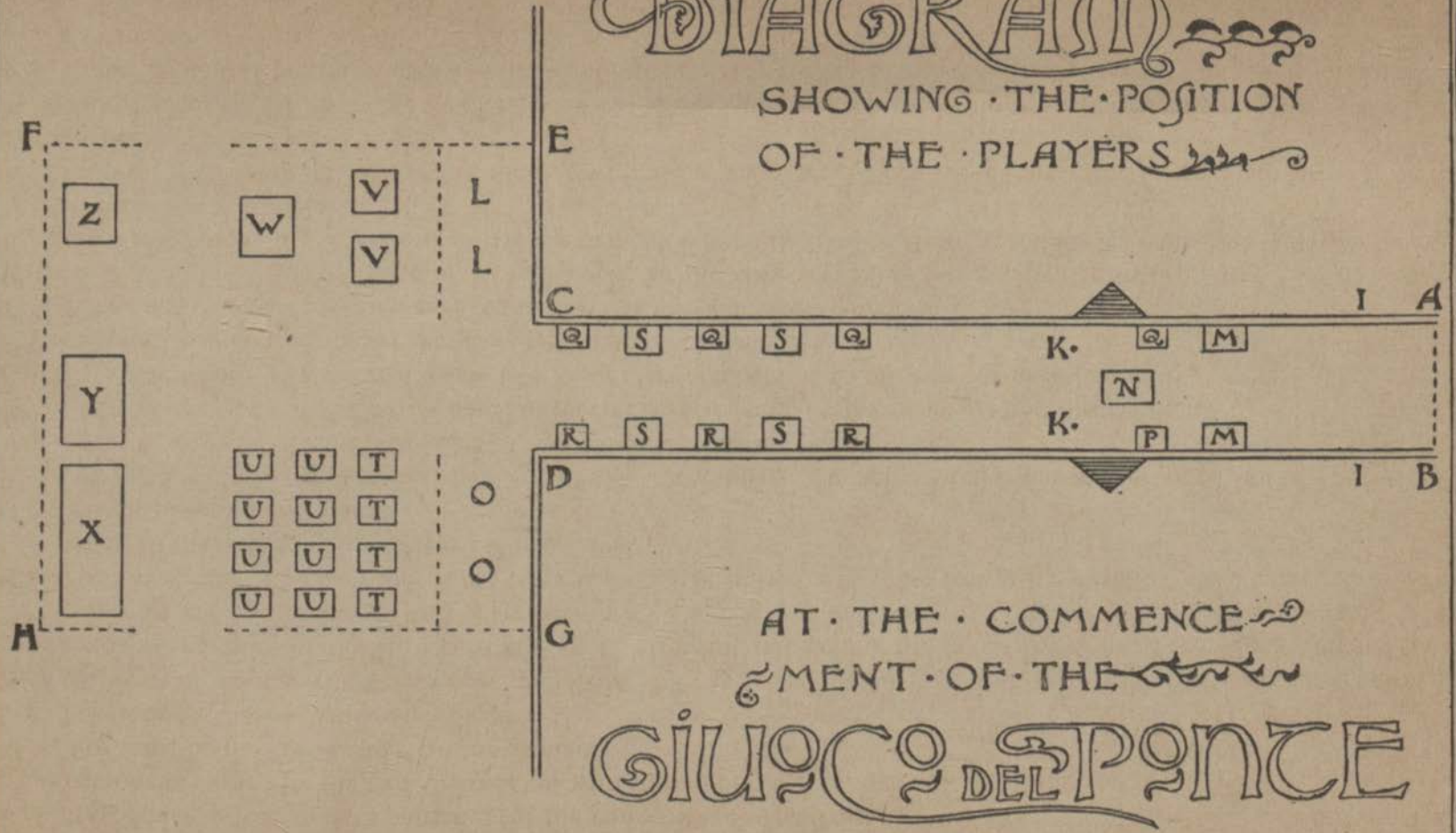
The head of the soldier (*soldato*) was covered by a *falzata*, or coif, of quilted cotton (Fig. B), over which he wore an iron helmet (Fig. A), furnished with a movable vizor. This the Pisans called by the Spanish name of *morion*. Breast-piece and back-piece were of iron (Fig. C), and were put on over a doublet of leather or quilted cloth. The shoulder-pieces were either of iron (Fig. D), or of quilted canvas

ARMOUR WORN BY THE PLAYERS IN THE *GIUOCO DEL PONTE*

B.C.B.

DIAGRAM

SHOWING · THE · POSITION
OF · THE · PLAYERS



AT · THE · COMMENCE
MENT · OF · THE

GIUOCO DEL PONTE

EXPLANATION OF DIAGRAM

A C, B D, Length of one-half the Bridge.

A B, Breadth of Bridge.

E F H G, Space fenced in with palisades for the convenience of soldiers.

I I, Positions occupied by the two *Comandanti* who stand upon the parapets of the Bridge.

K K, Positions of the *Comandanti* on the ground.

L L, Positions of the six Banners of the Party.

M M, *Affronti* of 50 men each, who open the Battle. They are stationed 8 or 10 *braccia* from the *Antenna*, which rests across the parapets of the Bridge, from A to B. Immediately behind the two *Affronti* stand the two Adjutants, ready to receive the instructions of the *Comandanti delle spallette*, and to convey them to the *Comandanti di terra*.

N, Troop of 15 men who, as soon as the *Antenna* shall be raised, will press forward *a pareggiare il Taglio*, or, in other words, to make the fighting line, or *Taglio*, level.

O O, Trumpeters and drummers.

P, Troop of 8 *Celatini*, for *servizio della Buca;* the *Buca* being the name of the passage or open space between the *Affronti*, through which the soldiers are sent into the Battle.

Q Q Q Q, Four troops of 6 *Celatini* each, to receive and accompany the prisoners and disarm them.

R R R, Three troops of 6 *Celatini* each, to conduct the combatants to the rear for refreshment.

S S S S, Four troops of 12 men each, to enter in turn into the Battle.

T T T T, Four troops of 10 men each, to be used as occasion shall demand.

U U U U U U U U, Eight troops of 15 men each, for the same service as those indicated by the letter S.

V V, Two troops, one of 18 and one of 19 selected soldiers, to be used to strike at the decisive moment—*per dar con esse il carico alla Battaglia.*

W, Troop of 10 *Celatini*, to refresh and reorder, within the palisades, the combatants who have retired exhausted from the Battle.

X, Position occupied by the horse soldiers, who will divide the combatants when the game is over. (N.B.—When the Grand Duke was present, these were drawn from his body-guard; in his absence from the Cuirassiers of the Pisan Regiment.)

Y, Position assigned to the *Mandati* of the enemy, who are charged with the duty of counting the number of the combatants.

Z, Position of the *Mandati* sent by the enemy to redeem the morions of the prisoners.

(Fig. E); while the hands and arms below the elbow were encased in thickly padded gauntlets, not unlike a wicket-keeper's gloves, except that the padding was so disposed as to protect the knuckles (Fig. G). The *parasotto* (Fig. H) was of iron; and on the legs were worn long gaiters or greaves (*stincaletti*) made of heavy pasteboard. These last two pieces of armour were of modern introduction, and were designed to protect the player from a possible foul blow. The rules of the game prohibited any hitting below the waist—*intendendosi cattivo giuoco il ferire dal petto in giù.*

Finally, a broad quilted collar (Fig. F) was tied around the neck, and so disposed upon the shoulders as to protect the scapulæ and clavicles. Over his armour, the player wore a surcoat or tunic (*camiciuola*), which extended to the knees. This was made of cloth or silk of the same colours as the *bandiera* of the Squadron to which its owner belonged.

The only offensive weapon was the *targone* (Fig. I), a shield-shaped instrument, "made of stout board the fifteenth of a *braccio* in thickness; its length a *braccio* and two-thirds; its width at the top somewhat more than the third of a *braccio*, and at the bottom the sixth of a *braccio*." It was wielded by means of two handles which were mortised into it in the same place as the arm-straps of a shield would be found; and Tribolati tells us that the hand and part of the arm were, in fact, thrust through them. This, however, I believe to be a mistake, because, of all the *targoni* which I examined, I found none with handles wide enough to admit even the naked arm; and the arms of the players at *Ponte* were, as we have seen, padded out to very much more than their natural size with heavy quilted gauntlets. My own view is that the handles were grasped one in each hand, the soldier using the instrument both to thrust and parry; and, indeed, this seems to be the way in which the man depicted in the sketch, marked "Tau^{a} 3^{a}," is holding his *targone*. The weight of the blow which he is about to deliver will be mainly due to his right arm, the left being merely used to guide and steady the weapon. Of course,

in the heat of battle, when the ranks of the enemy were broken, and there was room for a swinging blow, the handles were not used at all. The combatants then grasped their *targoni* by the narrow ends, and used them as clubs.

Each *targone* was obliged to correspond with a model which was kept in the *Cancelleria del Tribunale*, and to be stamped by the Government officials.[1]

Unlike the defensive armour, which was largely borrowed, either from the Armoury of the Grand-ducal troops who were quartered in the Fortress of Pisa, or from the noble families of the City, many of whom possessed a large store of cuirasses and morions which had been handed down from father to son,[2] the *targoni* were, as a rule, the property of those who used them. Indeed, they seem to have been preserved with much the same kind of affectionate regard which the modern cricketer displays for some old and well-seasoned bat wherewith he has made many notable scores. Some of them, besides being painted with the colours of the Squadrons to which their owners belonged, were embellished with appropriate legends. Upon a *targone* preserved in the *Museo Civico*, and which evidently belonged to a veteran member of the *Leoni* (the letters are white upon a black ground), we read the following couplet:

DECREPITO E VECCHIO SONO
PORTATEMI RISPETTO O VI BASTONO.

Another bears the motto NUNQUAM RETRORSUM; and Tribolati speaks of a third, on which were inscribed the words DECIDA OGGI IL VALOR NON GIÀ LA SORTE.[3]

[1] "A tale effetto ciascun targone dovrà essere preventivamente bollato, e sarà premura degli armatori per tutti i respettivi uomini da armarsi di mandarlo a bollare nel Palazzo Pretorio a tutto il dì 26 del futuro mese di aprile."—*Notificazione* existing in the ARCH. DI STATO DI PISA, Filza 101 di Atti Provveditoriali dell' Ufizio dei Fossi (TRIBOLATI, *op. cit.*, p. 18, note 2).

[2] See, in the *Oplomachia Pisana*, pp. 63, 64, extracts from two wills, of the 16th and 17th centuries, whereby the testators bequeath morions and other armour to be held in trust for the uses of the *Giuoco del Ponte*.

[3] Sometimes the legends inscribed upon the *targoni* seem to have been further emphasized by painted figures. Thus, in 1776, there having been no Battle for nine years, some of the *Delfini* depicted on their *targoni* a sitting hen, with the legend, SON NOVE ANNI CHE COVA. To which the *Mattaccini* replied by displaying the motto: SENZA GALLO NON NASCE. After the victory of the South, this repartee became the subject of the

Besides the *Soldati*, there were other players called *Celatini*, from the peculiar kind of helmets (*celate*) which they wore. These were of a different shape from the morions, and were not furnished with vizors (see Tau[a] P[ma], Fig. L). Every Squadron was accompanied by from four to six *Celatini*. They were without offensive weapons, and their principal duties were to receive the prisoners, to open the *buca* (see Diagram, p. 118 *supra*), and finally, to attend to the ordering and sending forward of reinforcements.

In the actual Battle, the Generals, Field Marshals, Lieutenant Generals, and Sergeant Majors had no place. Even the Captains, if they desired to take part therein, did so as common soldiers; for it was provided by the rules of the game that only four *Comandanti* on either side should be admitted to the Bridge. Two of these were to stand upon the parapets and two upon the ground. The latter were permitted to select two Adjutants to assist them. The two *Comandanti* on the parapets were unarmed and were strictly

following sonnet, which I quote as characteristic of the exchange of poetical compliments which may almost be said to have formed a necessary sequel to the game.

DIALOGO FRA CHECCHA E MENICA.

Ch. Stanotte Comar mia non ha cantato,
Il vostro Gallo? prima a tutte l'ore
Si faceva sentir pien di furore,
Per tutta l'estension del vicinato.

Men. Ah non sapete il caso disperato
Che jer successe? *Ch.* Nò. *Men.* Mi sento il cuore
Sveller dal seno, aimè, beltà, valore
Erano in lui. . . . *Ch.* Che fu? *Men.* Mi fu castrato.

Ch. Come? che dite? eppure ognun sul monte
L'amava. *Men.* E' ver. *Ch.* Ma chi di derisione
In lui lasciò le vergognose impronte?

Men. Comar, ve lo dirò: di un fier Leone
L'opra crudel fu dell' Alfea sul Ponte,
E di buon Gallo il fece un vil cappone.
Poi senza discrezione
Non contento di scena sì funesta,
Gli strappò co' granelli ancor la cresta.
Ma sentite anche questa
Se il Poverin non vola, e fugge via,
Quel Leon lo lasciava in agonía.

(See the *Raccolta di Componimenti Poetici Berneschi*, printed to celebrate the victory of the South in 1776—In Leyden, Presso li fratelli Howe.)

forbidden to interfere with the players.[1] These officials were clad in special uniforms so as to be easily distinguishable; those of the North in scarlet with white facings, and those of the South in green with white facings.

It must have been a tremendous spectacle, that mimic battle, when the *affronti* crashed together, forty or fifty on a side. To the Squadrons of *San Marco* and of the *Dragoni* for the South, to those of *San Michele* and of the *Calci* for the North, belonged, by immemorial usage, the honour of beginning the combat. The Squadron of *San Marco* was opposed to that of *San Michele*; the *Dragoni* confronted the *Calci*. While the other companies were called simply "Squadrons—*Squadre*," these four were called "*Forti*."

Let us listen to Camillo Borghi, while he describes the game which he had seen so often and which he loved so well. It is the moment of supreme tension. The last words of encouragement have been spoken to the troops, and the trumpets on either side blare forth defiance.

"As if the sound had bereft them of the power of speech, a great silence falls upon the vast multitude of spectators. Men and women, young and old, priests and laymen, nobles and plebeians, occupy every post of vantage upon the Lungarno; the streets, the parapets, the windows, the terraces, the roof-tops, the seats erected for the occasion, even the very boats which ply upon the river. All are speechless with an excitement too intense for the smallest whisper; for all, even those who feel no especial interest in either party, await the event with breathless anxiety. At the sound of the trumpets, both armies leave their stations, and march the one against the other until they touch the *antenna* which divides their arrays; and there they stand, as their fathers stood before them, awaiting the signal of battle; striking as yet no blow, but defying one

[1] This does not, however, appear to have prevented the players from interfering with them. Thus, in 1767, we find that Signor Francesco Boscaini, one of the *Comandanti sopra la Spalletta* for the North, was wounded in the head by divers *targonate* and compelled to relinquish his post to Sig[r] Giov. Battista Tellini, who, in his turn, *fu parimente ferito nella faccia da un targone*.—ARCH. DI STATO DI PISA, Filz. 101. Negozii provveditoriali (F. FERRARI, *Ricerche Bibliografiche sul Giuoco di Mazza-scudo o del Ponte di Pisa, con documenti inediti* (Pisa, 1888), p. 56).

another to combat with taunts and jeers. After a very brief delay, the Grand Duke or his appointee gives the signal; and, as the *antenna*, the only obstacle which divides the hostile Squadrons, is raised,

> Orror più che di morte i cuori ingombra
> Pallor più che di morte i volti inbianca;

and the *affronti* of both Parties rush the one against the other, to the sound of warlike instruments of music, with unspeakable fury, thrusting and smiting."

The object of either side was to penetrate the enemies' ranks, to flank, break and disperse them, and finally, if possible, to drive them backwards off the Bridge in headlong rout, as actually happened in 1776, when, instead of three-quarters of an hour,[1] the game only lasted twenty-seven minutes, and the victorious South not only occupied the whole of the Bridge, but also the Piazza del Ponte, "festeggiando nel debellato Campo, con Bandiere spiegate al vento, al suono di numerosi bellici strumenti."[2]

At first, the struggle must have borne considerable resemblance to a Rugby-football scrimmage of thirty years ago, before the numbers of the players were limited; and when, as at Clifton College in the seventies, as many old boys as liked to join in the game were permitted to play for Sixth or School. It must have been simply a case of hard shoving, and the weight of the mass behind them must have rendered it quite impossible for the combatants in the front ranks to use their weapons effectively. Afterwards, when one side or the other began to give way, there would be room for short stabbing strokes with the pointed ends of the *targoni*, and, later on, for swinging downward blows as with a club or mace (*targonate—targonate a braccio sciolto.*

> Chi può ridir quali allor sono, e quante
> Le Targonate, che fra lor si danno,
> Le sciolte Truppe a tal contrasto usate?

[1] Originally, as we learn from documents of 1574 and 1599, the game lasted two hours. By the middle of the following century, the time of play was reduced to an hour; and, after 1686, to forty-five minutes.

[2] See the *Preface* to the *Raccolta di Componimenti poetici berneschi, etc., op. cit.*, p. 4.

L'arte cede allo sdegno, e più non stanno
All' ordin di pugnar, che pria fu dato,
Ma dove porta il lor furor sen vanno:
Di Polve un nembo, che ivi s'è innalzato
La vista ingombra, e appena alcun s'avvede
S'abbia il compagno, o il suo nemico al lato.

The *Comandanti* upon the parapets rushed frantically to and fro, waving their arms, and shouting orders which the players were far too excited to hear, or bawling wild entreaties to the Adjutants to send forward reinforcements.

Il Duce di Spalletta allor che vede
Tutto il forte in conquasso, ad alta voce
Nuovo rinforzo, e nuove Truppe chiede.

Meanwhile, the *Celatini* forced their way into the mêlée, and either "collared" the enemy by the legs, or endeavoured to pin their arms to their sides. It was also their duty to carry away the fallen, and to consign the prisoners to the *Deputati*, to be deprived of their morions, and thrust out of the *steccato*. Many *targoni* were wrenched from their owners and hurled into the river.

Non feci di mia man cento Prigioni,
E in Arno non gettai cent' un Targone?

In a document of 1767, we read of a certain Settimo Rozzalupi, who "si trovava in Arno col barchetto per raccorre targoni."

Sometimes the players themselves seem to have fallen over the parapets, and to have continued their battle in the water. *Neque in hibernâlibus tamen aquis succensus furor, aut ultio refrigebat, sed ruebant pugnantes, pugnabant natantes altero hostem ictu, altero aquam verberantes.*[1] Probably, however, this did not often occur after the year 1707, when it was provided that *se alcuno Armato monterà sopra le spallette del Ponte incorra nella pena di due tratti di fune.*[2] The strappado was no joking matter.

When the struggle had lasted for the prescribed forty-five minutes, "Time" was called, and the cuirassiers, who had been told off for that duty, forced their way between the combatants and stopped the battle. The victors were

[1] VALERIO CHIMENTELLI, *Orationes.* [2] *L'Oplomachia Pisana*, p. 122.

Prospetto di una Parte dell'Arrivo
Principio del Giuoco del Ponte nel
Dedicata al Sublime Merito dell'Ill.mo Sig.r Gio. Kirg
della Città di Pisa presa dal
de Pazzi a Maggio
e dell'Ill.ma Sig.ra Isabella Contessa de Lanesborough

THE GIUOCO DEL PONTE

those who, at the termination of the game, were in possession of hostile territory. If neither party had lost or gained ground, the Battle was considered drawn, and peace was declared.

In order to understand what victory or defeat meant for the Pisans, it is necessary to remember that the *Giuoco del Ponte* was, for them, almost as important as were the Olympic Games for the ancient Greeks. If, of old, the Peace-heralds of Elis had been wont to proclaim the *Ececheiria* during the sacred month, in Grand-ducal Pisa, the terrors of the law were often suspended for those whose services were required in the *Battaglia generale*, and debtors, and criminals even when accused of capital offences, were not unfrequently liberated from prison for three days, in order that they might be able to take their places in their respective Squadrons. A surety for their return was necessary, but valour often paid the debts which might otherwise have deprived the debtor of many years of liberty, while doubtless the criminal, fighting beneath the eyes of his Sovereign, must have hoped, by some great deed, to win a pardon, or, at least, a mitigation of his sentence.[1]

On the evening after a *Giuoco del Ponte* had been decided, Pisa, on the victorious side of the Arno, presented a scene of unrestrained delight. The people held high revelry till morning, with waving of banners, blowing of trumpets and beating of drums; with fireworks, and bonfires and songs of triumph. The losers, on the contrary, were plunged in the deepest grief and despair, ashamed even to show themselves in the public streets, so that, while, on the one bank of the river, the night was turned into day, on the other the city was dark and silent and deserted, as if a pestilence had swept across it.

A few days later, generally on the first feast day after the Battle, was celebrated the *Trionfo*, or triumphal march, of the victors, through the principal streets of the city.

The procession was headed by two trumpeters on horseback, followed by a band of horsemen clad in military costumes, and by war-cars, full of the arms and banners of

[1] *L'Oplomachia Pisana*, p. 91.

the vanquished. Thereafter came certain soldiers on foot, with their hands bound, to represent the prisoners taken in the Battle; then more trumpeters and drummers; and then the Triumphal Chariot drawn by four or six horses, richly draped and adorned with emblems and mottoes. It was accompanied and escorted by knights and gentlemen on horseback. The noble ladies of the city followed in their carriages, and behind them thronged "an infinite people (*infinito popolo*), scattering broadcast various poetical compositions, and singing with sweet melodies, in the previously appointed places, the glories of the victory won, making procession through the city until night." After dark, bonfires were lighted.

On high, above the Triumphal Car, was set some allegorical figure, such as Valour, Victory or Fame.

In 1696, the Loggia de' Banchi was used as the Capitolium of the victorious South, which there celebrated its triumph in full sight of the contested Bridge.

If the game had been drawn and peace declared, both parties celebrated a triumph. In the *Giuoco del Ponte* of 17th January 1662, the Cavalieri di Tramontana laid claim to the victory on the ground that, at the end of the Battle, their right wing was precisely in the centre of the Bridge, while their left had advanced about a yard into hostile territory. His Serene Highness, however, decided that, while the North had certainly gained an advantage, they had not won a complete victory, and he forbade either party to pass the confines of the other with its Triumphal Car, although, at the same time, he granted both of them permission to make such demonstrations of rejoicing, in their own territories, as they might see fit.

"On the 12th day of February, in pursuance of the aforesaid decision, the Cavalieri di Mezzogiorno made a Triumphal Car of exceeding beauty, drawn by four most stately horses; and thereupon stood Peace crowned with olive, together with four Loves (*Amorini*), two of whom were clad in silver tissue, with blue doublets, and two in gold tissue, with white doublets; and they also were crowned with olive. Therewith they made procession through the

city, distributing beautiful verses (*vaghi componimenti*), all of them allusive to the Peace; and about an hour after dark, being in the Piazza del Commessario, where were many ladies, certain madrigals were sung to music; and those four Loves danced a fantastic dance, by the light of many torches; and so the Festa ended.

"On the 21st of the same month, the Cavalieri di Tramontana also issued forth with a well equipped Triumphal Car, whereon was seen Victory masked, Venus, Cupid and a choir of singers with musical instruments; and, in divers places in the city, they sang verses descriptive of the subject which they represented. The Car was cunningly constructed and richly decorated. On the front thereof was painted Victory, masked and clad in the same manner as was the Victory upon the Car, with the motto: TANTO PIÙ BELLA SON QUANTO NON MOSTRO. On one of the sides was a Laurel, with the motto: IMPALLIDITO MAI, and a bundle of fire-wood, with a few red-hot coals, and a Wind blowing on them, with the motto: UN SOFFIO SOL M'ACCENDE. On the other side was a Sun, obscured by a cloud, but with rays piercing through it, and the motto, TANTO RISPLENDO, as also a field, with olive trees in one end thereof, and in the other armed warriors who fought together, with the motto: BISOGNERÀ COSÌ. The Car was accompanied by many men on horseback, all in warlike garb, who distributed divers compositions, in prose and in verse, and by an infinite number of people." [1]

After the Triumph, each of the Captains of the victorious Party invited the soldiers of their respective Squadrons to a banquet. The guests came clad in the tunics which they had worn during the Battle, but with their swords and daggers at their sides. During the meal, their banner was displayed from the window of the house where they were entertained. Each Captain invited his men for a different day, in order that the season of festivity might be prolonged as much as possible; and then, after the soldiers had been feasted, the General, in his turn, invited the officers to dinner. The

[1] *L'Oplomachia Pisana*, pp. 152–153.

hall where they assembled was adorned with military trophies, and free ingress was permitted to all the citizens. "The firing of cannon announced the commencement of the banquet, which was accompanied throughout by the grateful harmony of trumpets, its conclusion being proclaimed by a second firing of cannon."[1]

The Italians are a musical people; but, to the average Englishman, that *grata armonia di Trombe* probably sounds sufficiently appalling.

VI

The literature of the *Giuoco del Ponte* is rich in poems and in *Relazioni*, in *Cartelli di sfida* and in *Bandi*, in *Memorie* and in satires. Those who wrote of the "Arte Cavalleresca" made honourable mention of the game in their treatises; the historians and chroniclers of the Republic and of the Grand Duchy spoke of it as a national institution; and many a good citizen of Pisa kept a minute and careful record of all the *Battaglie* which he had seen, to the end that their glories might be remembered by generations yet unborn.

In these annals, we sometimes find names which startle us. That Queens and Princes should preside at the Battle of the Bridge, that Lords and Ladies should look on and applaud, was natural enough; but that learned lawyers and grave professors should regard its maintenance, its jurisprudence and its strategy as matters of profound and lasting importance, is, at first sight, somewhat surprising.

On the 3rd of January, 1807, the revival of the game was announced to the Pisans, after more than twenty years.

"We shall see, ere long, caressed by the breeze, those banners which are for us a precious symbol and record of the splendid tournaments of our fathers, whereunder we shall present to a wondering Italy the imposing spectacle of a People united in closest bonds of amity for love of country, disunited only for love of glory."

So ran the *Manifesto*; and the Secretary of the *Deputazione della Parte di Mezzogiorno*, who probably worded it, and whose signature it certainly bore, was none other than

[1] *L'Oplomachia Pisana*, pp. 154–155, *Quesito* xxxii., "De' Conviti dopo la Vittoria."

the celebrated Giovanni Carmignani, then well nigh fifty years of age, but still full of enthusiasm for the game. The secretary for the Parte di Tramontana was Doctor Giovanni Anguillesi, whose sonnets "for the solemn benediction of the banners of the Northern Party, performed in the Church of St Catherine of Pisa," still remain to us.[1]

The most staid and influential citizens occupied themselves publicly with the *Giuoco del Ponte*; and its praises were sung even from the cathedræ of the Sapienza. Thus among the manuscript *Orationes* of Valerio Chimentelli, Professor of Civil Law in the Pisan University, we find one, written in very respectable Latin, which treats of the game, describing all its details.

It were over long to record even a tithe of the *canzoni*, sonnets, madrigals and ballads which the *Giuoco del Ponte* has inspired. Suffice it to mention two sonnets which stand forth pre-eminent; one by Giovan Battista Guarini, the author of the *Pastor Fido*; the other by Vittorio Alfieri. Of the last of these I shall have something to say: the first it is sufficient to transcribe without comment.

GUERRA DEL PONTE A PISA.

Qualor di guerra in simulacro armata,
Di valore indivisa, Arno divide,
E qual fu sempre, ove più Marte ancide,
Pisa al ferir' invitta, al vincer nata.
Tal da penna famosa invidiata
Pugnar Goffedro in sul Giordan la vide:
E Schiere disarmar Perse, e Numide
Di sacre spoglie, e più di gloria ornata.
Se tal' era d'Etruria il vinto stuolo
Al periglioso varco, allor che volse
L'intrepido Romano a lei la fronte;
La fama, che cantò d'Orazio solo
Contra Toscana, or canteria, che tolse
Un sol Toscano a tutta Roma il Ponte.

In 1785, Alfieri was in Pisa, where he composed that most celebrated of his prose works, *Il Panegirico a Traiano*, and commenced the *Agide*, and where he passed much of his time in riding and driving those fourteen horses which he had

[1] *Sonetti per la solenne benedizione delle bandiere della parte di Tramontana, eseguita nella chiesa di Santa Caterina di Pisa, il dì 3 maggio 1807.* Pisa dalla tip. Pieraccini, 1807. (They are dedicated to Elizabetta Ruschi degli Scorzi.)

travelled to England to procure, and which it would seem that he loved almost as passionately as he did his art, and might, perhaps, have loved even better but for the shame of confessing it.[1]

During his residence in the city, the last *Giuoco del Ponte* but one was played, and of it he writes as follows, in his *Vita:* "In May of that year I enjoyed in Pisa the diversion of the *Giuoco del Ponte*, an extremely beautiful spectacle, which unites in itself an indefinable something of ancient and of heroic. To it was added another very beautiful festa of a different kind, the illumination of all the said city, as is customary every second year, for the feast of S. Ranieri. These festivals were celebrated together, at this time, on the occasion of the coming of the King and Queen of Naples into Tuscany, to visit the Grand Duke Leopold, the brother-in-law of the said King. My little vanity (*la mia vanaglorietta*) was sufficiently flattered during these festivities, since my beautiful English horses made me the observed of all observers, surpassing, as they did, all the other horses to be seen upon this occasion, in size, in beauty and in spirit."[2]

A year later, in a villa in Alsatia, while sighing for reunion with his lady, his thoughts turned once more to the Pisan festival, and he composed the following sonnet:

Compie oggi l'anno, ch' io dell' Arno in riva,
Sovra olimpico ponte in finto marte,
Vedea prodigi di valore e d'arte,
Per cui Pisa in Italia è solo viva.
Odo il fremere ancor che intorno udiva;
Veggo i terribili urti e l'armi sparte;
E quello stesso gel l'alma or mi parte,
Ch' io fra speme e timor quel dì sentiva.
Oh come ratto il dubbio cor mi batte!
Tremo pel forte aquilonar guerriero,
Dal cui lato virtù nuda combatte:
Senno è dall' austro, e obbedienza, e impero.—
Ahi, quanto già ne fur genti disfatte,
Per duce aver, più assai che dotto, altero!

---

[1] "E col cuore alle volte gioioso, mi rivolsi anche al poetare festevole; onde scrissi cammin facendo un capitolo al Gori, per dargli le istruzioni necessarie per la custodia degli amati cavalli, che pure non erano in me che la passione terza: troppo mi vergognerei se avessi detto, seconda, dovendo, come è di ragione, al Pegaso preceder le Muse."—*Vita di Vittorio Alfieri scritta da esso medesimo* (Firenze, L. Ciardetti, 1822), vol. ii. pp. 119–120.

[2] *Vita*, vol. ii. pp. 129–130.

Before leaving the subject of the literature of the game, I may mention the very excellent Bibliography of Signor Ferruccio Ferrari, entitled *Ricerche Bibliografiche sul Giuoco di Mazza-Scudo o del Ponte di Pisa*, published in 1888.[1]

VII

The question remains to be answered why the *Giuoco del Ponte* is played no longer.

There are some who would have us believe that the people of Pisa were divided into two hostile factions, even as the Arno divided the city into two parts,

> Dividit et Pisas media pulcherrimus unda
> Arnus, et in partes sic quoque corda secat;[2]

and certainly, as we have already seen, a strong feeling of rivalry was inspired and kept alive by the *Giuoco del Ponte.*

A startling example of the violence of the passions which it aroused is to be found in the tumults which resulted from the battle of 1731. In that year, according to a manuscript preserved in the University Library,[3] "the combatants on either side fought so valiantly that the result of the game was doubtful; and, since each party claimed the victory and demanded the decision of Signor Sen. Angelo Baldocci, the Commissario, he, to avert the disorders which he already foresaw, caused a proclamation to be published whereby both parties were forbidden to hold festiyal or to light bonfires. Therefore were the players and the populace of Pisa ill content, and awaited the decision of the next day with impatience. But, on the following morning, towards the seventeenth hour,[4] what time the Commissario was at the Palace of the Serenissima R. Gran Principessa, whither he

[1] By the "Libreria Galileo già Fratelli Nistri di Alberto Pellicci."—The work also contains an appendix of documents.

[2] VANDER BROECHE, *Epist.* 50.

[3] R. BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA DI PISA, *Miscellanea*, 299, *op.* 4.

[4] "They count not the houres of the day as we do, from *twelve* to *twelve*; but they beginn their count from *sunset*, and the fitst houre after *sunset*, is *one a clock*; and so they count on till *four and Twenty*, that is, till the next sunset againe" (*The Voyage of Italy* (edition cited), part i. p. 17). Thus, if the sun set at 5 p.m., "verso le ore 17" would be about 10 a.m. by our reckoning.

had gone to consult her concerning the said decision, the people rose in tumult, and the players of the one side and of the other joined battle, first with showers of stones, and then with naked swords in their hands, on such wise that, if prompt measures had not been taken, beside the slaughter of much folk, there had followed a rebellion. But, the combatants having been separated and the bridge cleared by a cannon shot fired towards it from the fortress, and the cuirassiers having been called out, the whole police-force of the city was stationed on the said bridge, at either entrance thereto, with firearms in their hands. At the same time another proclamation was made, prohibiting the wearing of party colours of any kind by all persons of whatsoever condition, rank or sex, and forbidding all males, save only knights, to carry arms during the whole of the Carnival season of the said year, 1731. Therefore were the people angry and discontented. In the meanwhile the plan of the bridge and of the battle was sent to Florence. Therein it was shown how the Cavalieri di Tramontana had conquered the bridge for about a yard on the side towards the *antenna*, while those of Mezzogiorno had advanced more than a yard into the territory of the former.[1] When the answer came from Florence, it was as follows, to wit, that no man should discuss the matter further even as if the game had never been played."

Such disturbances were, however, very rare; and, as a rule, the records of the game contain little or no evidence of any greater degree of enmity between the North and the South than such as often exists between rival houses in our own public schools—an enmity which, while active enough on the day of a house-match, ceases as soon as the struggle is over; and which, however strongly felt against opponents in the aggregate, rarely extends to the individual.

Sete d'onor traevali
Al pugillar impegno
Nè di civil discordia
S'alzò l'infausto segno.

[1] "Fu frattanto mandata a Firenze la pianta del ponte e della battaglia, dove si vedevano i cavalieri di Tramontana che avevano guadagnato il ponte per più d'un braccio dalla parte dell' antenna, e quelli di Mezzogiorno che eransi inoltrati per più di due braccia nel campo de' primi. . . ."

Did not the heads of the two parties meet and feast together in the hall of the Palazzo Municipale, at least once in every five years?

E nell' oblio festevole
Di convival delizia
Regna sicuro il gaudio
E l'amistà propizia.
Quell' ampia sala accoglieli
Che del pisan valore
Mostra la grata istoria
E il trionfal fulgore.[1]

Did not the people sing through the streets of the city:

Grande Alfea, solleva il ciglio
Che vedrai sul fiero ponte
Ritornar le squadre a fronte
E la pugna rinnovar.
Suonin pur le trombe intorno,
Sovra il ponte si combatta,
Vinca Borea o Mezzogiorno,
Sempre Pisa vincerà,[2]—

verses these which continued to be popular as long as the game was played; and which, twenty or thirty years ago, might still be heard on the lips of the aged survivors of the last Battle.

Thus, it seems that we may dismiss the idea that the *Giuoco del Ponte* was allowed to fall into desuetude on the ground that it tended to produce civic discord; and, perhaps, the surest way of arriving at a just conclusion as to the reason of its abandonment will be to study its vicissitudes during the last forty years of its existence. In the first half of the 18th century it had been at the height of its popularity; in the latter half its decline was rapid; and from 1767 to 1807 it was only played four times. Nor is it without interest to note that the decay of the game followed very closely on the extinction of the Medicean line of princes. In 1737, Giovan Gastone died, and with him died also the traditions of his house. For the new rulers of Tuscany the

[1] These verses were printed, by an anonymous author, for the *Convito di Pace del dì 13 maggio 1807*, when the Generals, Commandants, Deputies, etc., of both the Parties assembled in the "Sala della Magnifica Comunità di Pisa."—See TRIBOLATI, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[2] *Canzonetta anacreontica da cantarsi per la prossima futura battaglia del Ponte di Pisa.* —Pisa, G. P. Giovannelli e comp., 1761.

"tenere occupati i popoli con feste e spettacoli" constituted a far less important part of the science of statecraft than had been the case with their predecessors; and, as a consequence, many pastimes, which had depended for their popularity on the smiles of Royalty, soon languished and died. The *Calcio*, for example, hardly survived the last Medicean Grand Duke.[1]

Although a rough pastime enough, the *Giuoco del Ponte* does not seem to have been accompanied by many serious casualties. The armour worn by the players sufficed to save them from anything worse than sprains and bruises; and there was, probably, less actual danger to life and limb than in many modern sports. This immunity from serious accidents the Pisans, as we have seen, believed to be due to the intercession of St Catherine of Siena, who, it was said, "chanced to be in Pisa at the time of the playing of the *Giuoco del Ponte*; and there, in the Church of Santa Cristina, held loving communion with her and our Crucified Lord; when, on a sudden, she was startled by a noise of trumpets and of drums. But the Saviour bade her fear not, telling her that the sounds which she heard proceeded from no other cause than a game which was commonly played among the Pisans. And she, being moved thereto by lively charity, effectually besought Him that never, for all time to come, might any evil happen, by reason of that game, to them that played therein—which thing was granted to her by the Divine Mercy." So runs the legend; and for well nigh four centuries the prayer of the Saint availed. Only in 1767 did a fatal accident occur; "and," says a contemporary writer, "there is no record or memory of past time that any such like thing hath ever before happened; and the said mishap was after this manner, to wit, that, when the game was over and the bridge had been cleared by the cavalry, a dead man was found, lying on the ground, close to the parapet where had been stationed the *forte di Calci*, the same being a *Celatino* of the troop of Santa Maria di Calcinaia. . . . Neither was it possible to ascertain whether the said *Celatino* had been struck upon the head with a

[1] PIETRO GORI, *Il Giuoco del Calcio* (Firenze, Bemporad, 1898), p. 15.

targone, or had been trampled on by a horse at the end of the game; whence that event caused much grief and annoyance, both to the losing and to the winning side. But the matter did not end here, because the wife and family of the deceased memorialized the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo, who had been a spectator of the said game; wherefore the Sovereign, to the end that the said family might not be reduced to destitution, ordered all the officers and captains of both parties to pay annually to the said family, for eighteen years, the sum of sixty scudi, and provided that, in the event of their failure so to do, the said money might be collected by legal process, . . . and (continues the chronicler) they made such payment, and make it still, and will continue to make it, until the termination of the prescribed period."[1]

The next *Giuoco del Ponte* was played on the 21st of April 1776, and seems to have given rise to an unusual amount of ill-feeling. The North had felt confident of victory, and were, as we have seen,[2] ignominiously defeated. The sonnets and ballads with which the victors celebrated their triumph were full of stinging sarcasms;[3] and there was a certain amount of disorder after the game was over. In a letter of one of the *Deputati* to the "Illmo. Sig. Auditor Vicario," we find mention made of *il lungo e osceno chiasso d'infamità che da una parte e l'altra è seguito in questa sera* (22 April) *tra le birbe del paese.*[4]

These events seem to have created a prejudice against the game in the minds of the authorities, and, in 1782, the *Commissario* of the City of Pisa refused to permit it to be played again, unless the *Deputati* made themselves responsible for such disorders as might arise "by the action of the players and of the folk admitted to the bridge"; and unless—a far more serious matter—the form of the *targone* was so altered that it could no longer be used as a club.[5] On the 3rd of

[1] *Relazioni sul Giuoco del Ponte.* MS. Chronicle, cited by TRIBOLATI, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–25.

[2] See p. 123 *supra.*

[3] *Raccolta di Componimenti poetici berneschi, etc., op. cit.*

[4] Letter published by F. FERRARI, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–59.

[5] The following extract from a letter of the *Commissario* of 1 February, 1782, explains the nature of the proposed change:—"E non convenendo, che il Governo approvi un Giuoco dove sia pericolo di gravi offese, vuole S.A.R. che si debba ridurre il targone senza punta

March, the *Commissario* sent to the *Signori Deputati e Comandanti del Giuoco del Ponte* a model of the *targone* which the Government approved. A meeting of the most experienced players was called, and the new *targone* was condemned with hardly a dissentient voice, the *Deputati* writing to the *Commissario* that there was great fear in the opinion of experts "di andare facilmente incontro a qualche pericolo coll' uso del 'suddetto modello." The *Commissario* thereupon definitely proclaimed the abolition of the game. "S.A.R," he writes on the 10th of March, "ha approvato che si resti fermo di non più eseguire tal Giuoco nè ora nè in avvenire."[1]

Nevertheless, three years later, the Grand Duke consented to reconsider his decision, and on the 12th of May, 1785, a *Giuoco del Ponte* was played, at which he, as well as the King and Queen of Naples, was present. This, it will be remembered, was the game which Vittorio Alfieri celebrated.

The last *Giuoco del Ponte* was, as I have said, that of 1807; and it is recorded that, upon that occasion, the Queen of Etruria repeated the words which Djem, the brother of Bajazet, had used concerning the old jousts, declaring that regarded as war the game was too trivial, as a pastime too violent, and announcing her determination never to sanction it again. The reign of Maria Luisa was, however, destined to close a few months later; and the Pisans, had they desired it, could doubtless have obtained permission from their new rulers to revive their ancient game. Thus, the reason for its abandonment must, as Signor Tribolati remarks, be sought for rather in the general tendencies of the age than in any special edict or in any particular series of events. "Certain pastimes," says he, "are intimately connected with certain institutions and beliefs; and when the latter cease to exist, the former also perish with them. The *Giuoco del Ponte* was a relic of popular chivalry, one of the innumerable knightly games which adorned the simple, artistic, warlike life of the hundred Italian Republics. When this infinite

nè sotto, nè sopra, talchè non possa abbracciarsi con le mani, nè battere ad uso di Mazza; o sivvero adattarlo, e alleggerirlo in forma che non pesi più delle cinque libbre; e prima d'approvarsi il Giuoco, ne venga trasmessa a Firenze una mostra."

[1] F. FERRARI, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–63.

variety was destroyed by the monotony of the Principalities, the old chivalric spectacles became gradually rarer and rarer, and then passed away, together with many of the gracious customs of an elder age.

"Such pastimes distract and refresh the mind; but now we know them no more. Is it possible to call this nineteenth century either tranquil or happy? Is it not rather a neurotic and melancholy period, full of anxious seekings after some unknown ideal, which escapes us just as we imagine that we have attained it, even as Ariosto's Angelica vanished from the sight of the knights-errant who pursued her? Is it conceivable that the woman who dreams of her emancipation, who weeps over *La Dame aux Camélias*, who swoons at the sight of a drop of blood, should enjoy looking down from her balcony at a joust or tournament? Should we, to-day, regard the Benediction of the Banners as a sacred and splendid ceremony? Would the populace attend it reverently and appreciatively? If not, what have we to do with the arms and banners of the tourneys? At most, let us rub the rust away, and shake off the dust, and lay them aside in a museum."

CHAPTER THE SECOND

THE BATTAGLIA DE' SASSI OF PERUGIA

AMONG the last of the Italian Republics to abandon the *Giuoco del Mazzascudo* was Perugia.

The peculiarity of the Perugian game lay in the introduction of light-armed troops who opened the battle with showers of stones, and from this practice it received its title of the "Battle of Stones—*Battaglia de' Sassi, Prelium lapidum.*" We, however, find it alluded to by at least one contemporary writer under the generic name of *Mazzascudo*;[1] and I am by no means prepared to state that the stone-throwing was an innovation. Indeed, there is some evidence to show that it was an ordinary accompaniment of the original game.

In Siena, as we shall see hereafter, the *Giuoco di Elmora* was intimately connected with stone-throwing. In Orvieto, in the first half of the 14th century, the *prelium de lapidibus* was a favourite amusement, being played from All Saints day to the beginning of Lent, *pluribus et pluribus vicibus et in pluribus locis et partibus dicte civitatis.*[2] In Gubbio tradition speaks of a murderous game which was abandoned between 1130 and 1140, through the efforts of Sant' Ubaldo, and in which stone-throwing formed an important feature.[3] In Florence the pastime was a very old one, and survived longer than elsewhere. As early as 1367, we read of the *Sassaiolæ*

[1] See *La Cronaca di Bindino da Travale edita a cura di* V. LUSINI (Siena, Tip. S. Bernardino, 1900), cap. lxviij, p. 54.—Compare also MURATORI, *Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane* (Milano, 1751), vol. ii. p. 4, Diss. xxix., where a 15th century writer, who speaks of the Perugian game as "*mortalis lusus . . . cum scutis et clava*," is quoted.

[2] L. FUMI, *Codice Diplomatico della Città d'Orvieto* (Firenze, G. P. Vieusseux, 1884), p. 767.

[3] REPOSATI, *Vita di S. Ubaldo* (Loreto, 1760), p. 130 *et seq.* Quoted by F. UGOLINI, *Storia de' Conti e Duchi d'Urbino* (Firenze, Grazzini, Giannini e C., 1859), pp. 502, 503, Doc. iv.

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ludus sive jactus lapidum;[1] and it seems to have been an exercise which appealed most strongly to the youth of the city. The shop boys of the Mercato Nuovo played an annual match; and, among his Carnival songs, Il Lasca has left us a *Canto di fare a' sassi*, which begins as follows:

Maestri, Donne, e giucator di sassi,
Come vedete, siamo,
Ch' oggi gridando andiamo,
Imperio, Palle, Palle, e Sassi, Sassi.[2]

The sport was also held in high favour among the *Potenze*. Thus, in the Church of Santa Lucia del Prato, might once be read the inscription: IMPERATOR EGO VICI PRÆLIANDO LAPIDIBUS MDXXXIV; while, in 1582, the Grand Duke Francesco I. gave 800 scudi to the *Potenze*, to the end that they might celebrate the wedding of Leonora de' Medici and Don Vincenzo Gonzaga, by a Battle of Stones, in the Via Larga. The result was a ferocious conflict, which piled the street with dead and wounded, and which finally necessitated the calling out of troops to separate the combatants.[3]

Another Florentine game was the *Giuoco del Pome*; and if, as certain writers inform us, the *pome* was a ball made of some hard substance, such as lead or iron, and was used as a missile,[4] it must have borne considerable resemblance to the *Giuoco de' Sassi*. The *Canto di Giucatori di Pome* of Il Lasca,[5] however, does not appear to lend much support to this theory. [See also the note at the end of Chap. III., *infra*.]

It would be interesting to know whether the *Ludus graticulorum* of Bologna (which was prohibited in 1306, but which we find still popular in the 16th century) may not have had some remote connection with the old *prelia de lapidibus*. In that game, the players on one side were clad in breastplates and helmets, and armed with staves, as in *Mazzascudo;*

[1] See *Disfida di Caccia tra I Piacevoli e Piattelli descritta da* GIULIO DATI (Firenze, Per il Magheri, 1824), p. x. n. 1.

[2] *Tutti i Trionfi, Carri, Mascherate o Canti Carnascialeschi andati per Firenze dal tempo del Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici fino all' Anno 1559* (second edition, 1750), p. 476.

[3] A. D'ANCONA, *Origini del Teatro Italiano, op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 420 n. Compare also *Le Signorie o le Potenze Festeggianti del Contado Fiorentino* of IODOCO DEL BADIA (Firenze, Tip. dell' Arte della Stampa, 1876), p. 14.

[4] GIULIO DATI, *Disfida di Caccia, etc., op. cit.*, p. viii.

[5] *Tutti i Trionfi, etc., op. cit.*, p. 501.

while their opponents carried baskets of eggs, which they used as missiles.[1] It is probably to some such pastime as this that Il Lasca alludes when, in his *Canto di fare a' sassi*, he says:

> Sono i sassi altro che uova,
> Donne belle, e la nostra è altra guerra,
> Che ziffe, ziffe, zaffe, e serra, serra.

If, however, many of the mediæval Communes delighted in stone-throwing, in Perugia, as Bonazzi remarks,[2] the predilection for the exercise seems to have amounted to a passion. In times of civic tumult the hostile factions stoned one another; when the snow fell, the people snowballed each other, and beat off the police, if they tried to interfere.[3] Even the Religious Orders took part in the fun, and, in 1486, we read that "on the 10th day of December, many of the friars of Sant' Agostino, of San Francesco, of Santa Maria de' Servi and of San Fiorenzo, went from one convent to another, making battle with the snow."[4] An ancient statute provides against the slinging or throwing of stones at the houses or on to the roofs;[5] while the *Battaglia de' Sassi* affords, perhaps, the best instance of a game of *Mazzascudo* in which the use of missiles was an essential part of the sport, and not only, as in many other cities, a more or less fortuitous incident.

There were, in Perugia, several societies or *compagnie* for the promotion and management of the public festivals.[6] Such were the *Compagnia del Domanio per la festa di S. Fiorenzo;*[7]

[1] L. FRATI, *La Vita privata di Bologna, etc., op. cit.*, p. 136. Compare N. TAMASSIA, *Odofredo* (Bologna, Tip. Fava e Garagnani, 1894), p. 176 note.

[2] L. BONAZZI, *Storia di Perugia dalle Origini al 1860* (Perugia, V. Santucci, 1875), vol. i. p. 560.

[3] PELLINI, *Historia di Perugia*, parte i. lib. viii. p. 1123.—In 1371, when the Bargello of Porta S. Pietro tried to stop the snowballing, "lo rimisero non senza qualche percossa di bastone, e d'armi in casa."

[4] "Arch. stor. it.," tom. xvi. parte i. p. 656 (*Supplemento Sesto al Graziani*).

[5] "Quicunque projecerit vel rombolaverit lapidem vel rem actam ad nocendum in domo vel super domum vel tectum vel hostia domus alicujus . . . puniatur pro quolibet lapide vel alia re qualibet vice quolibet, si fuerit de die in x. lib. den. et si de nocte in xxv. lib. den."—*Stat.*, iii. Rubr. 26.

[6] According to Pellini, the *Compagnie della Città* were twelve in number. Their names he gives as follows: "il Sasso, Santa Elisabetta, la Foresta, la Ghirlanda, il Gallo, la Bianca, i Grifoncelli, l'Angelo, la Verzaiola, la Castiga, il Lancillotto e la Monteluce." It will be observed that he omits from this list il Domanio, il Maggio and il Ceruglio, which apparently belonged to the same category.

[7] *Cronaca del Graziani* (*Supplemento Sesto*), *loc. cit.*, pp. 642, 643.

the *Compagnia del Maggio* for the celebration of May-day ;[1] the *Compagnie del Ceruglio* and *de' Grifoncelli*, which seem to have been particularly prominent in Carnival time ;[2] and lastly, the *Compagnia del Sasso*, whose special business it was to arrange for the *Battaglia de' Sassi*. In this capacity, it was recognized by the Government, which paid it a yearly subsidy of 50 *libre di danari*, to be expended on the opening game of the season, which was played on the 1st of March, the day of Sant' Ercolano.[3]

For administrative and military purposes, Perugia was divided into five quarters, corresponding with its five principal gates. "These *Porte* or *Rioni*," says Annibale Mariotti,[4] "diverge from the centre of the highest point of the City, where are the two principal Piazze, extending thence in five directions, like so many rays, across the mountain top, with as gentle a slope as the nature of the ground permits. They are, to the east, PORTA SOLE ; to the west, PORTA SANTA SUSANNA (anciently called *Trasimena*, then *Porta Luzia*, and lastly Porta Santa Susanna, from a church dedicated to that saint . . .) ; to the north, PORTA SANT' ANGELO (once called *Porta Augusta*, since it then stood where is now the *Arco di Piazza Grimana*) ; to the south-east, the PORTA SAN PIETRO (formerly called *Porta Cornea*, and to-day *Porta Sant' Ercolano*) ; to the south-west, PORTA BORGNE (formerly called *Porta Eburnea*, or, as others say, *Turrenia*, and by syncope *Turnia*, and finally *Burnea*)."

Each "Gate" had its own *compagnia* and its own colours ; and I am disposed to believe that these *compagnie*

[1] *Cronaca del Graziani, loc. cit.*, p. 319. At p. 642 (*Supplemento Sesto*) we read : "Adì 28 Aprile, il signor Gentiluomo Agamennone ed il signor Pietro Giacomo delli Armanni ordinarono di porre li maggi per le calende di maggio per la Porta, et andarono da 300 persone e piantarono li maggi per la Porta, e tutti quelli della compagnia ballarono per la Porta, e poi andarono in piazza ballando ; e poi fecero una cena fra tutti in S. Agostino, e pagarono 21 soldi per uno, e stettero allegramente ; et in detta cena furono fatti gli offiziali per l'anno seguente."

As to May-day celebrations in other cities, see D'ANCONA, *op. cit.*, ii. 245 *seq.* ; N. TAMASSIA, *Odofredo, op. cit.*, p. 175 and note 3 ; L. FRATI, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–146 ; G. CONTI, *Fatti e Aneddote di St. Fior., op. cit.*, pp. 1–8. Compare also, as to Siena, *Il Costituto volgarizzato nel MCCCIX–MCCCX, op. cit.*, Dist. v. Rubr. 168.

[2] *Cronaca del Graziani, op. cit.*, p. 233 and note.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 319. See also the letter of Pier Donato, in the note at the end of the chapter.

[4] *Saggio di Memorie istoriche civili ed ecclesiastiche della Città di Perugia e suo Contado* (Perugia, 1806), vol. i. pp. 14–15.

per le porte, which were, as we shall see, themselves very much in evidence on all occasions of festivity and holiday-making, more or less overlapped and blended with such societies as the *Compagnie del Maggio* and *del Sasso*. Certain it is that Mariotti, after mentioning the "Battle of Stones" and the "public festivals of Games, Jousts and Tourneys," says: "Divers *Compagnie*, each for its *Porta*, had charge of these spectacles";[1] while, in another place,[2] we read of the "*Compagnia del Sasso di Porta San Pietro*," a phrase which would seem to imply that the members of the *Compagnia del Sasso* were divided into several distinct bodies, according to their residence in one or other of the five quarters of the town. This is a matter of some interest as affecting the question of the costumes worn by the players in the Battaglia de' Sassi, and for that reason I would bespeak the reader's attention to the following passage from the chronicle of Graziani, descriptive of the *divisa* or livery of the various Gates. He is writing in June 1444. "During the past months," he says, "there hath been some fine holiday-making—*se sonno fatte delle belle feste*. Those of Porta S. Agnolo commenced the festivities by celebrating the day of Sant' Agostino. On the first day of May, all the youths of that Gate made a company (*feceno una compagnya*), all with tunics of a rosy red; and it was a rich livery.—Porta S. Sanne kept holiday on the feast of the Ascension. All their tunics were sky-blue, with chains of silver; and there were more than eighty of them. In the morning with candles,[3] they went two by two behind the Spina (*derieto alla Spina*);[4] and they made a fair festa.—Porta Soglie, the first day of June, on the feast of S. Fiorenzo; and they were a goodly company, all the retinue and district (*tutta la paroffia e contrada*) of S. Fiorenzo; and all wore white tunics with rosy stripes.—For Porta

[1] *Saggio di Memorie, etc.*, vol. i. pp. 35–36.

[2] *Cronaca del Graziani*, 642, 643.

[3] "*Al lume.*" See BONAZZI, *op. cit.*, i. 569.—In the statutes of Perugia there are many rubrics which deal with the candles given to the churches on innumerable feast days. *De faculis et candelis dandis; etc.; De cera danda, etc.; De candelis dandis, etc.* (See *Stat.*, i. 380–411.)

[4] The *Spina* referred to is a thorn from the crown of the Saviour, which is still preserved as a priceless relic in the Cappella del Gonfalone, in the Church of San Francesco.

San Pietro, on the 11th day of June, the same being the feast of the Body of Christ, they all wore yellow tunics, and the major part of silk; and they went forth with candles; and after they had eaten they represented the story of the Minotaur; and the street of the Borgo di San Pietro was covered from San Domenico even to the Madonna; and, in the morning, the friars of San Domenico made a *Devotion* of the Nativity of Christ,[1] where there was much folk.—Porta Borgne, on the feast of St John of June. They were all clad in green tunics, and likewise all their garments were green, and the major part of silk; and it was a rich company."[2]

The words "fecono una compagnya" leave the impression that these Companies of the Gates, instead of being associations with a separate and permanent organization and annually elected officials,[3] like the *Compagnia del Sasso* or the *Compagnia del Maggio*, included all the inhabitants of the several *Porte* who chose to take part in the business on hand when the Company was "made." Even the women belonged to them. Thus, when Madonna Contessa Orsini, the bride of Biordo de' Michelotti, came to Perugia, "all the noble ladies went forth to meet her, dancing, and clad in the colours of their various Gates—*vestite a porta per porta secondo la sua divisa*—and those who were not able to dance followed after them."[4] So too, a century later, when Astorre Baglioni espoused Lavinia Colonna, "each *Porta* composed its company of youths, to wit, of men and of women; and each citizen clad his sons and his women-folk according to his rank and position; and every *Porta* vied with the

[1] "*fecero una devozione della Natività de Cristo.*" A *Devozione* was a sacred representation or miracle play.—See D'ANCONA, *op. cit.*, vol. i. lib. i. cap. xiii.; "La Lauda drammatica diventa Devozione, etc."

[2] *Cronaca del Graziani*, p. 549.—It may, perhaps, be of interest to recall the whimsical reasons which tradition assigns for the colours adopted by the various Gates. The red of Porta S. Angelo is said to be symbolical of fire, since through it was drawn most of the wood burned in the city. The blue of Porta S. Susanna was typical of the water of Lake Trasimene, the road towards which passed through that gate. The colour of Porta Sole, wherethrough Perugia "sente freddo e caldo," was white, like the rays of the sun. That part of the contado on which Porta S. Pietro opened was rich in golden grain, of which the yellow of that gate was emblematic; while finally, the green of Porta Eburnea indicated that through it came the bulk of the garden stuff used in the city.

[3] See note 1, p. 141 *supra*.

[4] *Cronaca del Graziani*, p. 262.

others to do honour to the Magnificent Messer Astorre, and to his lady. . . ."[1]

Pellini tells us that the citizens "made companies almost every year for the *Porte*, . . . beginning with the festival of San Costanzo, which is on the 29th of January, and continuing until the Calends of March, the festival of Sant' Ercolano.[2] And they were wont, all of them, each separately from the rest, to appear in the Piazza, dancing, on every holiday which occurred between the one solemnity and the other." There was, he says, much emulation and rivalry between them.[3]

In addition to the division by Gates, Perugia was further divided into *Parte di sopra* and *Parte di sotto*. The former comprised Porta Sant' Angelo, Porta Santa Susanna and Porta Sole; the latter, Porta San Pietro and Porta Borgne.[4]

These divisions appear to have been political as well as topographical, and existed also in other cities.[5] In a note to the chronicle of Graziani,[6] Ariodante Fabretti informs us that "to the *parte di sotto* appertained the Guelfs and *popolari*, to the *parte di sopra* the Ghibellines and nobility"; while we read that in Perugia, in June 1425, there was great danger of tumult, "inasmuch as the citizens of the *parte di sopra* were at variance with those of the *parte di sotto*, because those of the *parte di sotto* were in favour of the Church and of peace, and those of the *parte di sopra* were contrary thereto."[7] During the strife between the *Raspanti* and the Nobles, the *parte di sotto* steadily supported the former. Thus it is related that, in 1371, certain gentlemen of the city assembled a great company of their adherents and friends, who were all clad in the same livery, and bore

[1] *Cronaca del Matarazzo*, in the "Arch. stor. it.," t. xvi. p. ii. 105.

[2] San Costanzo and Sant' Ercolano were both Bishops of Perugia, both martyrs and both patron saints and protectors of the city.

[3] PELLINI, *op. cit.*, i. viii. 1122.—D'ANCONA finds in these dances a continuation and development of the old 13th century dramatic lauds, which first grew into the *Devozioni*, and were then secularized and connected with dancing.—*Origini del Teatro Italiano*, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 279.

[4] MARIOTTI, *Saggio, etc.*, *op. cit.*, p. 14; PELLINI, *op. cit.*, i. vii. 960.

[5] *Cronaca del Graziani*, 94, 127, 430; REPOSATI, *Vita di S. Ubaldo*, *loc. cit.*

[6] p. 94, and compare p. lxi.

[7] *Cronaca del Graziani*, 290.

as their device a banner whereon was painted a Peregrine Falcon, holding in his talons a White Goose. The Falcon was intended to typify the Nobles, the Goose the *Raspanti*. To this the inhabitants of Porta Borgne and Porta San Pietro, the two Gates of the *parte di sotto*, replied by making each a company, and marching through the city with a banner which displayed a Cat eating a Falcon; the Cat, of course, being emblematic of the *Raspanti*.[1]

We have already seen how, in Pisa and elsewhere, the men of the same trade tended to monopolize certain parts of the city. In Perugia it would seem that the same tendency existed among men of similar political views.

In the *Battaglia de' Sassi*, it appears that the *parte di sopra* ordinarily contended against the *parte di sotto*,[2] an arrangement which must certainly have insured a strong feeling of emulation between the opposing sides.

There were, in Perugia, three open spaces of sufficient size to permit of their being used for the game; namely: 1. the Piazza *par excellence*, the *platea comunis* (now the Piazza del Municipio); 2. the Piazza di Sopramura; and 3. the Campo di Battaglia. The name of the last-mentioned piazza—*Campo di Battaglia*, or Field of Battle—would naturally lead us to suppose that it was there that the game which the Perugians generally alluded to as "la Battaglia," was played; and in adopting this view we should find ourselves in excellent company, since no less an authority than Muratori is content to draw a similar inference from the name *Pratum de Bataglia*, given to an open space outside the walls of the city of Modena.[3] Nor do we lack direct evidence, for Pellini definitely asserts that the Campo di Battaglia of Perugia was used to exercise the young men *in quei giuochi tanto spaventevoli, e pericolosi de' sassi, molto simile al combatiere, e fatti solo in questa Città* (sic).[4] Never-

[1] PELLINI, *op. cit.*, i. viii. 1122.

[2] SISMONDI, *Storia delle Rep. Ital. de' Secoli di Mezzo*, cap. lxii. PELLINI also implies the same thing, when speaking of the game of 1353 he says: "We learn that this game was passing great and perilous . . . and that they of the Porta S. Pietro and of Borgne had the best thereof."

[3] *Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane* (Milano, 1751), vol. ii. pp. 3, 4.

[4] *Op. cit.*, i. iv. 287, and compare viii. p. 1121.

theless, the statute whereby the game was abolished makes no mention of the Campo di Battaglia, but speaks of it as being played *quandoque in platea comunis Perusiæ et quandoque in campo qui dicitur Sopramuro.*[1] We are therefore forced to conclude that, in the 15th century, at any rate, the Campo di Battaglia was rarely or never used for that purpose. Indeed, it seems to have served, for the most part, as a place for public executions, where criminals were mutilated, hanged, and beheaded, and where witches were burned.[2] Even the undiscriminating mediæval nose and the sturdy mediæval stomach would surely have resented the stench of rotting human quarters, and the reek of blood-drenched soil, in the public playground of the city.[3]

As we have already seen, the opening game of the season was played on the day of Sant' Ercolano.[4] But, though this was the first and principal "Battle" of the year, it was far from being the only one. On all the holidays during the spring months, until Easter was past (*in festo paschatis resurrectionis domini nostri Jesu Christi et diebus dominicalibus sequentibus*),[5] the *Giuoco de' Sassi* was played; so that we may probably take it that the season lasted from the 1st of March to the end of May.[6]

[1] See Note I., at the end of the chapter.

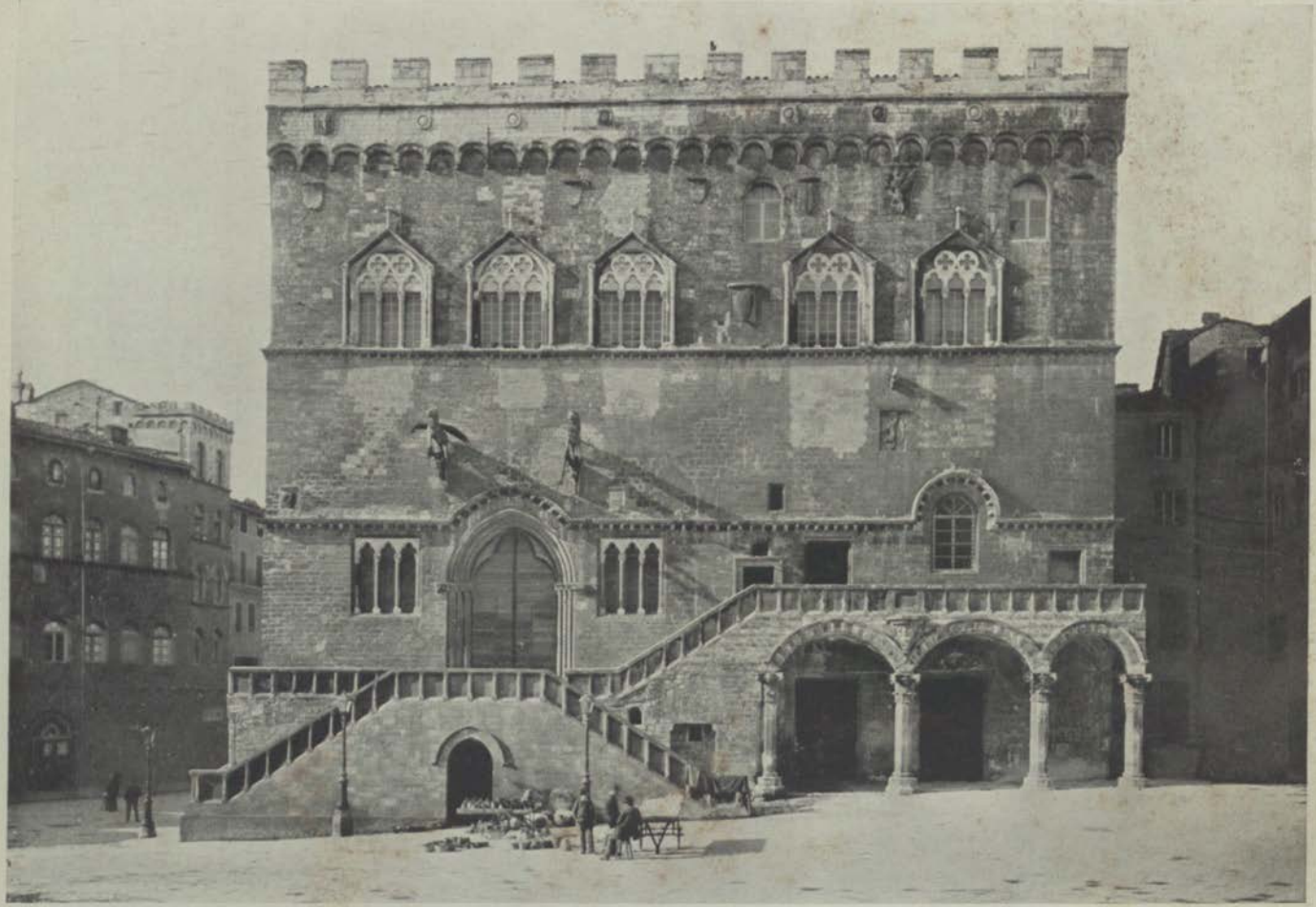
[2] *Cronaca del Graziani*, pp. 166, 297, 466–467, 519, 565, 629, etc. etc.

[3] It is to be remembered that, in the Quattrocento, men, if equally bloodthirsty, were, at least, more refined than of old. In moments of excitement they could still become worse than wild beasts; but they had unquestionably acquired a certain superficial varnish. Thus, in Siena, the Signoria had long ago grown so fastidious that they objected to the executions of criminals taking place immediately below the *loggia* of their Palace, and had prevailed upon the *Consiglio Generale* to provide for the removal of the gallows to a field outside the Porta Nuova di Valmontone (*Delib. di 5 Agosto 1359*; C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, *op. cit.*, p. 151); while, in Lucca and elsewhere, those who had suffered mutilation at the hands of a barbarous criminal justice were forbidden to shock the delicate sensibilities of the citizens, by approaching nearer to the walls than two bow-shots distance (*Bandi Lucchesi*, p. 374).

[4] In the morning, the image of the Saint was borne in state to the Church of S. Domenico, all the magistrates of the Commune following in procession, with wax candles in their hands, which were subsequently deposited with the *officiali fatti sopra la fabrica e concime di S. Lorenzo* (*Cronaca del Graziani*, 319). Then, too, the subject towns brought palii, horses and tribute.—See PELLINI, *op. cit.*, i. v. 407; *Archivio storico Italiano*, tom. xvi. parte i. pp. lxviii, 62, 68, 143, 181 note.

[5] See Note I., at the end of the chapter.

[6] "Nè si continuavano tutto l'anno questi giuochi, ma si cominciavano il primo dì di Marzo continuando per tutti li due mesi seguenti solamente i giorni delle feste." Compare SISMONDI, *loc. cit.*



THE PALAZZO PUBBLICO, PERUGIA

According to a modern author, it was also played on the festival of Santa Maria in Monteluce, and on All Saints day.[1] This, however, is directly opposed to the statements of the older writers; no evidence is produced in favour of such a view; and the document, from which we are led to suppose that it is inferred, certainly does not tell in its favour.[2] The *Giuoco del Mazzascudo* was a winter pastime, and, in most of the Communes, was a feature of the Carnival season. Thus, in Pisa, as we have seen, it was played from Christmas to Shrove Tuesday; in Siena, it was played at Carnival time; while in Orvieto, the season for the various *prelia, cum armis, et sine armis, et cum jectulo,* seems to have lasted *a festo omnium Sanctorum usque ad quadragesimam maiorem.*[3]

The festival of Santa Maria in Monteluce, on the other hand, was in August; and when we consider the way in which the players were dressed and the fact that the Perugian game lasted almost the whole day, it seems very nearly a physical impossibility that it should have been played at such a time. Moreover, it is a very significant circumstance that the *Compagnia del Sasso* (*societas saxi*) had nothing to do with this festa, the management of which was entrusted to quite another company, *La Monteluce* (*Societas Montis-lucidi*).[4]

With regard to All Saints day, it may be remarked that that festival was devoted by immemorial usage to another kind of amusement. As early as 1276, it had been customary to hold a fair at that season of the year, which seems to have lasted more than two weeks;[5] while on All Saints day itself, there was a great bull-fight (*ludus thauri*), which was subsidized by the Government, and for which the nuns of S. Mustiola in Chiusi were obliged to provide a bull.[6]

These facts may not be conclusive; but, in the absence of direct evidence in support of the assertion under con-

[1] E. DÉPREZ, *L'Azione di S. Bernardino da Siena nella Città di Perugia,* in the "Bollettino della R. Dep. di St. Patria per L'Umbria," vol. vi. (1900), p. 111.

[2] See Note II., at the end of the chapter.

[3] FUMI, *op. cit.*, p. 767, Rubric xli., *De non faciendo prelium, etc.*

[4] See *Primum volumen Statutorum Magnifice civitatis Perusie,* Rubr. 417.

[5] "Cioè per 8 dì innante et 8 dì da puoi la ditta festa."—*Cronaca del Graziani,* p. 471. Compare PELLINI, *op. cit.*, i. iv. 289.

[6] BONAZZI, *op. cit.*, i. 726.

sideration, they certainly raise a strong presumption against its accuracy.

We now turn to the game itself.

The citizens of the *parte di sopra* took up a position at one end of the piazza, those of the *parte di sotto* at the other. Thence they advanced to occupy the central space, and the contest continued until one of the sides had obtained undisputed possession of the same. Such was the object in all games of *Mazzascudo*, from the 13th century to the 18th.

The "Battle" was, as I have said, commenced by light-armed troops, who were known as *Lanciatori* or *Jactores*, and who opened the attack with showers of stones. They were armed with greaves or leggings of hard untanned leather, and wore helmets. Instead of shields they carried large cloaks, which they wrapped about their left arms, and with which they defended themselves from the missiles of the enemy. Their only offensive weapons were the stones which they threw.

As the opposing ranks of the *Lanciatori* approached one another, the *Armati*, the players of *Mazzascudo* proper, entered the arena. Their dress resembled that of the *soldati* in the *Giuoco del Ponte*, but, since there was no regulation which prohibited those who took part in the *Battaglia de' Sassi* from hitting below the waist, and since, advancing under a shower of stones, the *Armati* were as likely to be wounded in the legs as anywhere else, their lower limbs were much more elaborately swathed and padded. Their feet were wrapped in triple folds of linen cloth, stuffed with deer's hair, which were carried upwards to the knee; the shins and calves being further protected by greaves or leggings of hard untanned leather. The thighs were defended by iron cuisses; and they wore cuirasses, which were likewise of iron. Moreover, their shoulders, chests, backs and bellies were carefully padded with tow and cotton—*piastre di stoppa et di bambagio cuscite ne' pannicelli di lino.* They were, in fact, clad in an undergarment like a bed-quilt, the sleeves of which extended to their elbows. Their necks were swathed in cloths covered with hardened leather. On their heads

they wore helmets, furnished with eye-holes, and with a projection like the beak of a falcon, to prevent their being blinded by the flying stones. The helmet was wrapped about with three thicknesses of hard felt, which was so disposed as to stick out in front like the peak of a cap; and this, as well as the apex of the helmet, from which the plumes depended, was ornamented either with purple cloth or silver, according to the wealth of the wearer. The hands and forearms were encased in gauntlets. In a word, the *Armati* were so swathed, and padded, and armoured, from head to foot, that they were practically invulnerable, except through the apertures which were obliged to be left open, in order that they might see and breathe. They wore purple tunics over their cuirasses, and from their shoulders hung short purple cloaks. *Reliquum corpus*, says Campano, *ornatior vestis decorabat;* and, since it is obvious that the *Armati*, when dressed for the fray, must have been about as recognizable as so many deep-sea divers, it would seem reasonably certain that this *ornatior vestis*, and the plumes which they wore in their helmets, were made use of to distinguish the one party from the other. According to all analogy, each player would wear the colours of his *compagnia*. So that on one side would be seen the yellow of Porta San Pietro and the green of Porta Borgne; on the other, the red of Porta Sant' Angelo, the blue of Porta Santa Susanna, and the white of Porta Sole.

Each *Armato* carried in his right hand a staff, which was attached to his wrist by a thong or strap, and in his left a shield — *Dextra alligatum brachio scipionem, leva clypeum ferentes, excipiendis magis ictibus sed tamen etiam incutiendis parati.*

For the *Armati* to have thrown stones would have been held a very shameful thing.[1] It was their business to *sostenere la battaglia*, as Pellini says. In other words, they massed themselves in the centre of the piazza, and endeavoured by sheer weight and muscle to shove their opponents backwards. Their duties were, in fact, identical

[1] "His turpissimum erat saxa conjicere, sed in mediam ruentes aciem clypeis scipionibusque pugnabant."

with those of the *soldati* in the Pisan game, only on a wider area; and doubtless, if one side or the other was not broken at the first onset, shields and staves were of but little use for many minutes. In the centre of the field of play would be seen an enormous "scrimmage," above which the air was blackened with showers of flying stones flung by the *Lanciatori*. Nor was it until the scrimmage broke that the most exciting episodes might be anticipated.

"*Videre erat pulcherrimum*," cries Campano, "Most beautiful was it to see these smite, those fall, while others, covered with their shields, hurled themselves with all their weight upon their adversaries, grappled with them, and smote them with club or shield in the eyes and mouths. . . . Best of all was it to watch the old men, who had been looking on at the game from the windows, and who, as soon as they saw their party waver and give way, rushed to their aid, leaving their cloaks and gowns behind them, careless alike of the proprieties and of their age and weakness.—*Nec ætatis aut reverentia, aut imbecillitate contineri poterant; tanta erat partium æmulatio.*"

The game seems to have begun at sunrise, when the young men (*juvenes vivaci ac robusta ætate*) entered the piazza, and fought until Terce (9 a.m.). Then followed the children's battle, which lasted for two hours—*Mox soli pueri, suis et ipsi contecti armis, duabus continuis horis inter se lapidibus decertabant.* Lastly, an hour before noon, the general combat commenced. It lasted until sunset, and in it all the men, old and young alike, took part.—*Quod reliquum erat diei omnis generis ætates ad prælium discursitabant.*

Often there were as many as two thousand players, and, in spite of the defensive armour which they wore, fatal accidents were extremely numerous. In almost every game the tale of maimed and wounded amounted to from ten to twenty.

Nevertheless, the Perugians, though quarrelsome and bloodthirsty, were good sportsmen; and it was a thing unheard of that any grudge should be cherished or revenge taken by the kinsfolk of the victims. The game was re-

garded as a national pastime, and held to be beneficial both to mind and body. *Inde robur et animo et corpore, inde genti vim et strenuitatem increvisse putant.* If accidents happened, they could not be helped.[1]

Habit and enthusiasm for a sport may do much to blind its votaries to its darker aspects; and modern American football is said to produce a far larger percentage of casualties than ever the *Battaglia de' Sassi* did;[2] but, for all that, there is one thing about the *Ludi Perusini* which, at first sight, it is not easy to understand; and that is the children's battle.

What were the mothers doing while their Gigis and Beppinos were spitting out broken teeth, or falling blinded, perhaps for life, by some cruel stone? Of course, they could not prevent it. Whatever may have been the case with regard to the female children, it was an axiom that the father had a perfect right to forbid the boys even to see their mother. The maternal influence, affection and petting were held to be manifestly fatal to the making of a man; and nowhere was the battle against feminism fought more resolutely than on this ground.[3] The wise maxims of the venerable Egidio Colonna, of Paolo di Ser Pace da Certaldo, and of Francesco da Barberino, epitomized in the aphorism of Gerson that "all instruction for women should be looked at askance,"[4] were early forgotten; it began to be con-

[1] *Campani Historia Brachii Perusini*, lib. iv., in MURATORI, *Rer. Italic. Script.*, xix. col. 547–549; PELLINI, *op. cit.*, i. vii. 931–933; SISMONDI, *loc. cit.*; BONAZZI, *op. cit.*, i. 564–565.

[2] Speaking of the Yale and Harvard match of 1894, the *Nation* says: "There were actually seven casualties among twenty-two men who began the game. This is nearly 33 per cent. of the combatants—a larger proportion than among the Federals at Cold Harbour (the bloodiest battle of modern times), and much larger than at Waterloo or at Gravelotte" (quoted by J. M. MUIRHEAD in *The Land of Contrasts: A Briton's View of his American Kin*).

[3] See R. DE MAULDE LA CLAVIÈRE, *The Woman of the Renaissance* (English translation, London, 1900), pp. 75 *seq.*

[4] It is refreshing to find Ruskin of the same mind. Note his *Query*, with regard to the two boys and a girl standing before the "Grammaticè," in the Spanish Chapel. "Does this mean," he says, "that one girl out of every two should not be able to read or write? I am quite willing to accept that inference, for my own part,—should perhaps even say, two girls out of three" (*Mornings in Florence, The Fifth Morning*, section i.). Probably, however, the sentence was written in a moment of spleen; and the English young ladies of Florence certainly do seem to have tried his patience terribly. They would read Tauchnitz editions, and "go to parties," and "talk sentiment about Italy," instead of going to bed when the fireflies came out in the twilight, in order to be "better prepared" to attend to his egotistical prosings in the morning.

sidered a shameful thing for husbands to kill, or even beat their wives, without just provocation; a few women were actually respected; but, long after the Renaissance had culminated, the boys were still carefully shielded from the baleful influence of feminine tenderness and sympathy. Thus, I can perceive that those Perugian mothers could not interfere; but I should like to know something more. Did they sit placidly by, as well-bred ladies should, and enjoy the game through it all, along with those strenuous old lords of theirs, who, later on, were going to break away from their restraining arms, to plunge recklessly into the mêlée, and get their foolish grey heads broken by the *Armati* of the victorious side?—Alas! the chronicles are silent.

That there was any moral harm in such a game certainly never occurred to those who took part in it; or how should they have played it upon the festival of the patron saint of their city, and in his honour? Their ideas upon the matter were probably very much the same as those which are expressed in an English ordinance of the 12th century, whereof the author of *Le Mireur a Justices* speaks as follows: *Es aventures en torneiementz, bohorz, joustes, e lutes, ordena le Rei Henri le second qe por ceo qe tieux deduz sunt aventurous, se deit chescun aprester qe dieu le truice en seinte vie, si qe nul ne seit en mortel pecche ne atie autre, einz dona congie qe chescun en bone amour assaiast sa vigour a autres en places communes es avandiz deduz, par unt il se seust mieux eider ver ces enemis.*[1] That the ordinance in question is most likely apocryphal makes no difference. It equally expresses the mediæval sentiment.

It was a violent age. Morality and religion had suffered an almost complete separation. Murders, poisonings, rapes and treasons were the common incidents of private as well

[1] *The Mirror of Justices*, edited for the Selden Society by W. J. WHITTAKER, with an Introduction by F. W. MAITLAND (London, Bernard Quaritch, 1895), pp. 31, 32.—Mr. Whittaker's translation is as follows: "As to adventures in tournaments, combats, jousts and medleys, King Henry the Second ordained that, forasmuch as such sports are dangerous, every one ought to prepare himself so that God may find him in holy life, that no one may be in mortal sin or hatred of another, but gave leave to every man to try his strength on others in good fellowship in public places in the aforesaid sports, whereby he might know how the better to defend himself against his enemies."

as public life.[1] The *vendetta* was as much a duty as in the days when Dante was ashamed to look upon the face of Geri del Bello, feeling himself a sharer in his shame.[2] Even at their mothers' knees children were taught the sacred obligation of revenge.[3] Religion itself was hideously cruel. What mattered then a few dead men, slain in a fairly played game, *en bone amour?*

Moreover, it seems that the Perugians were superstitious about their game, and believed that the prosperity of their city was dependent upon its continuance. Thus Pellini tells us that, when, in 1372, the Bishop of Sabina, Vicar General of the Pope and Rector of Perugia, tried to suppress it, "the thing was not pleasing to every one, inasmuch as, among the old men of the city, there was a very general opinion, which had been handed down from generation to generation, that whensoever the 'Battles' (for so, among the Perugians, were the *Giuochi de' Sassi* called) should be abolished or allowed to fall into disuse, the City would suffer tribulations and disasters."[4]

Possibly, it was his recollection of this superstition which caused Braccio da Montone to revive the *Ludi Perusini*, in which he himself had taken part as a boy.[5] It was his object to teach the Perugians to regard his triumphs as their own, since thus they would the more readily acquiesce in his seignory; and it must certainly have tended to the same end when he was able to link his own personality, in the thoughts of the citizens, with the splendid celebration of a game with which they believed the destinies of their city to be indissolubly connected.

The *Giuoco de' Sassi* continued to be played until 1425.

[1] "Nel qual tempo regnarono in questa povera città inganni, rapine, omicidi, assassinamenti, latrocinii, adulterii, violenze, sacrilegi, e licenza d'ogni male."—*Cronaca del Graziani*, 259.

[2] *Inferno*, xxix. There is a tradition that, years afterwards, the poet, with his own hand, purged his soul of that dishonour. *Dicunt aliqui*, says Benvenuto da Imola, *quod Dantis fuit ille qui finaliter fecit vindictam de ista morte.* Let us hope so for his own sake, since a man to keep a quiet conscience must at least live up to the morality of his age and class.

[3] See *Le prediche volgari di S. Bernardino*, edited by L. BANCHI (Siena, Tip. S. Bernardino, 1880), vol. i. p. 253. "Ho udito che so' state di tali donne tanto incanite inverso le parti, ch' elleno hanno posta la lancia in mano al figliuolo piccolo, perchè egli facci omicidio per vendetta di questi parti."

[4] PELLINI, *op. cit.*, i. viii. 1121.

[5] "Ludos Perusinos, quibus jam puer sæpe interfuerat, spectare placuit."—*Hist. Brachii Perusini, op. cit.*

Then, "on the 19th of September, on Wednesday, Fra Bernardino of Siena, friar of San Francesco of the Osservanza, began to preach and to say mass in Perugia. He came from Assisi, and he said that in Assisi he had had great fruit of his labours, especially in making peace between those who had long been at enmity, some by reason of the slaying of their fathers, some of their brothers, and some of their sons; and he said mass and preached at the head of our piazza of Perugia. The first day, no shop was opened until after he had preached; and there was a very great multitude. Thursday, proclamation was made that no man should open his shop, nor cause any apprentice or workman to labour, during the said preaching; and that debtors, whether of the Commune or of private persons, might go freely abroad during the said preaching, and during the ringing of the bell of San Lorenzo after the preaching, without fear of arrest. And ever there was much people, men and women and gentlefolk.

"On Sunday, the 23rd day of September, there were, as far as could be judged or estimated, more than 3000 persons at the said preaching. His preaching was of the Holy Scriptures, rebuking every imperfection and sin, and teaching men to live christianly. Thereafter, he began to reprove the women for painting and plastering their faces, for their false and borrowed hair, and for every lascivious fashion; and likewise the men, for their cards, dice and painted faces, for talismans and charms and such like things; on such wise that, within 15 days, the women sent all their false hair, the trimmings of their headgear, and all their paints and cosmetics to the Convent of San Francesco; and, in like manner, the men sent their dice, their cards, their tables [1] and such like things, which were a great number of mules' burden (*some*).

[1] In translating the word *tavolieri*, in a 15th century chronicle like that of Graziani, I have preferred to adopt the contemporary English term, *tables*, rather than the modern *backgammon*.—Chaucer, in the *Franklin's Tale*, has:

> They dauncen and they pleyen at ches and tables.

While, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act v. sc. ii., we read:

> This is the ape of form, monsieur the nice,
> That, when he plays at tables, chides the dice
> In honourable terms.

As to the Italian game, compare my "*Ensamples*" *of Fra Filippo, etc., op. cit.*, p. 170. *Tabolerium*, *tavoliere*, was the technical term for the board.

THE PALAZZO PUBBLICO AND THE FONTE MAGGIORE, PERUGIA

"On the 29th day of October, the said Fra Bernardino caused all the said diabolical things to be brought into the piazza; and there he caused to be built as it were a castle of wood, between the fountain of the piazza and the Bishop's Palace, wherein were put all the aforesaid things; and thereafter, on Sunday, the 30th day of the said month, when the preaching was over, he caused the same to be set on fire; and so great was the fire that words cannot describe it; and therein were burned things of passing great price;"[1] worth, as Fra Bernardino himself declared, when preaching in Siena, two years later, "many thousand florins."[2]

Above all, the Saint sought to induce the Perugians to abandon their murderous game—*la battaglia che vi si faceva, che era cosa tanto sterminata e grande faccienda.*

Here, however, all his eloquence was needed. He tells us that it was abolished with extreme difficulty—*con pena grandissima.*[3] Yet, in the end, it was abolished, *inherendo doctrinæ fratris Bernardini de Senis Ordinis Minorum*, as the preamble of the statute which forbade it declares; while, later on, the subsidies which the Government had been wont to pay towards its maintenance, and towards that of the bull-fight in November, were applied *pro emenda cera . . . ad honorandum, devotione sincera, ymaginem seu effigiem beati martiris Herculani protectoris et difensoris comunis Perusini et populi Perusii.*[4]

Every church in Perugia, save two, was decorated, at the exhortation of the Saint, with the sacred monogram I.H.S., surrounded with a halo of golden rays[5]—a device which spoke of peace, and pardon, and reconciliation, and which, wherever he went, he endeavoured to substitute for the party banners, ensigns and heraldic colours, wherewith the churches were filled, and which were sometimes even set above the Crucifix itself.[6] These, he was wont to declare, had been brought from Hell, by the devil of pride; and, since they

[1] *Cronaca del Graziani, ad annum*, pp. 313-314.

[2] "Avete voi vedute delle sacca della bombagia? Così furo quelle sette sacca; ma elli vi fu una balla scielta che fu stimata parecchie migliaia di fiorini, e tutte quasi le loro vanità so' levate via."—*Prediche Volgari*, i. 349.

[3] *Ibidem*, i. 349-350.

[4] See Note II., at the end of the chapter, and compare the *Cronaca del Graziani*, 319.

[5] *Prediche Volgari*, i. 97.

[6] *Ibidem*, ii. 15.

served to keep alive the rancours which the Guelf and Ghibelline factions had left behind them, he exhorted the people to pull them down and burn them.[1]

His influence in Perugia was enormous, and he never tired of holding her up as an example to her neighbours. Not only was the Battle of Stones abolished, but the *Compagnie delle Porte* danced no more on holidays,[2] and the whole city was sunk in puritanic gloom. Men thought only of confession and prayer; the churches were filled to overflowing; and those who had been injured sought out their enemies to pardon them.[3]

In February, 1427, Fra Bernardino again visited Perugia, and preached for five days;[4] but the citizens began to weary of penitence, and to perceive that they had been righteous overmuch. An agitation was started in favour of renewing the ancient games, which, however, was not successful, since, owing to the exhortations of Fra Alberto of the Osservanza, it was resolved *che non se fecero bataglie*;[5] and I find no further mention of the *Giuoco de' Sassi.*

Nevertheless, the dancing of the companies was soon resumed, and it may well be doubted if the Perugians were any the better for their devotional excesses. Revivalists did as much harm in the 15th century as they do in the 20th, for religion to be lasting must be sober. Of the year 1428 Graziani records that *a quisti tempe ogni dì nella citàse faceva qualche omicidio, e molti assalti e molti brighe; et similmente per li castelli e per lo contado nostro.*[6] Ancient enmities were revived; and Perugia, which, of all the cities of Italy, Fra Bernardino had declared to be "la più nettà,"[7] returned to her old ways.

A like reaction displayed itself in Florence, some seventy years later, "whenever Savonarola temporarily withdrew or lost his influence. Then the gambling-hells, the taverns, the brothels drove a roaring trade; and Savonarola's death

[1] Compare D. Domenico Ronzoni, *L'Eloquenza di San Bernardino da Siena e della sua scuola* (Siena, 1899), p. 55.

[2] "Anco de' balli che essi facevano a certa festa, anco so' levati via."—*Prediche Volgari*, i. 350—In the *Statuta S. Bernardini*, Rubric 217 is entitled *De societatibus tripudiantium tollendis.*

[3] *Prediche Volgari*, i. 97, iii. 497. [4] *Cronaca del Graziani*, 323, 324.

[5] *Ibidem*, 324. [6] *Ibidem*, 332. [7] *Prediche Volgari*, i. 97, 350.

was followed by scenes of profanity such as Florence had never before witnessed."[1] Thus does history repeat itself; but, because history teaches fanatics nothing, the same abuse of eloquence exists to-day; and similar attempts to destroy human happiness for God's glory end in similar paroxysms of sensuality and crime.

NOTES

I

De prelio non fiendo.[2]

Ad tollendum abusum qui diabolicis suggestionibus inolevit in civitate Perusii Statuimus et ordinamus quod nullus civis comitatensis vel forensis cuiuscumque status vel condictionis existat, audeat vel presumat prelium lapidum hactenus per abusum inductum in civitate Perusii et quod fieri consuevit temporibus retroactis quandoque in platea comunis Perusiæ et quandoque in campo qui dicitur Sopramuro cum armis solitis: nec cum aliquo alio genere armorum facere in aliqua parte civitatis Perusii vel comitatu sub pena L librarum denariorum pro quolibet contrafaciente et dictum prelium faciente que pena exigatur per dominum potestatem vel alium officialem forensem jurisdictionem habentem in civitate Perusii, de facto sine aliquo processu, cuius pene quam venire fecerit in comuni massarii comunis Perusii mediatatem solvere teneantur dicto domino potestati vel alteri officiali forensi qui dictam penam solvi fecerit massariis comunis Perusii sive aliquo precepto vel mandato. Et si potestas negligens fuerit in exigendo dictam penam condemnetur pro qualibet vice qua negligens fuerit in C. lib. denariorum de facto retinendorum per conservatores comunis Perusii de suo salario tempore sui sindicatus de quibus expresse debeat sindicari. Et nihilominus faciens dictum prelium teneatur de quolibet vulnere sive percussione sicuti si illud vel illam intulisset extra dictum prelium secundum quod puniretur per formam aliorum statutorum

[1] *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. i. p. 169.

[2] Rubric 216 of the *Statutes of Perugia*, edited by GIROLAMO CARTOLARI, at folio lxvi of vol. iii. The *Statutes of San Bernardino* commence at folio lxii, and of these the Rubric *De prelio non fiendo* is the 11th. For this information, as also for a copy of the rubric in question, I am indebted to my friend, Professor Francesco Guardabassi.

de vulnerantibus vel percutientibus loquentium. Statuimus etiam quod nullus de cetero permittat in domo vel apotheca propria vel conducta vel precario vel aliquo quovis modo sibi concessa vel in qua habitaverit vel artem aliquam exercuerit, quod aliquis se armet vel preparet ad dictum. prelium faciendum sub pena L librarum denariorum de facto a tali sic permittente per dominum potestatem vel alium officialem forensem cognitionem vel jurisdictionem habentem auferenda et camere massariorum applicanda, cuius pene medietas sit dicti domini potestatis vel alterius officialis forensis ut supra. Et si medietatem dicte pene quam venire fecerit in comuni massarii comunis Perusii absque aliquo precepto solvere teneantur. Et quia eadem diabolica suggestio induxit homines perusinos et alios solitos dictum prelium exercere ad iniciandum dicta prelia in civitate Perusii in festo pascatis resurrectionis domini nostri Jesu Christi et diebus dominicalibus sequentibus illa continuare Ideo volumus et ordinamus quod dictus potestas civitatis Perusii et alii officiales forenses cognitionem et jurisdictionem habentes qui pro tempore erunt teneantur et debeant vinculo prestiti juramenti sono quattuor tubarum premisso facere in sabbato sancto fieri solemniter preconia tria in platea in locis consuetis hoc statutum pena eidem domino potestati et aliis officialibus forensibus ut supra ccccc librarum denariorum de facto ab eis auferenda de suo salario tempore sui sindicatus et retinenda per conservatores monete comunis Perusii in quantum negligentes fuerint in fieri faciendo preconium antedictum.

II

Petrus Donato, Dei et Apostolice Sedis gratia episcopus Venetiarum pro Sanctissimo domino nostro, domino Martino divina providentia papa quinto et Sancta Romana Ecclesia Perusii etc. cum potestate legati de latere gubernator generalis, dilectis nostris magnificis viris . . . prioribus artium et camerariis civitatis Perusii salutem.[1]

Pro parte vestra nobis extitit suppliciter enarratum, quod ad relassandos hominum animos in alacritatem, quibusdam

[1] This letter, which exists in the *Archivio comunale di Perugia* (*Pergamene*, Cassetta 12, N. 39) was printed by E. DÉPREZ on pp. 112–113 of the *Bollettino della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria*, vol. vi. fasc. 1.

faciendis spectaculis, ex forma statutorum Comunis Perusii et consuetudine diutius observata, institutum erat fieri temporibus et festis infrascriptis, certos ludos et societatem, ac festiva et ludiaria solatia et in eis dari expendi et solvi infrascriptas pecuniarum quantitates: videlicet in festo Sancti Herculani de mense martii L libras denariorum societatis saxi; item in festo Sancte Marie Montis lucidi de mense augusti L libras denariorum; item in festo omnium Sanctorum de mense novembris L libras denariorum pro ludo thauri. Qui ludi et solatia, quoniam nichil frugalitatis, sed potius dissolutionem quandam immodestam et vanitatem lubricam sapiebant, ex noviter editis quibusdam honestissimis statutis, predicationibus religiosissimi viri dei fratris Bernardini de Senis, ordinis Minorum, sublati et abrogati fuerunt, et sunt: quodque decernere, sancire, disponere ac mandare dignaremur, quod dicte pecunie quantitas CL libr. expendi solita singulis annis in ludis festis et societate predictis, ex nostro solenni decreto ordinatione et rescripto transferatur, detur, expendatur et solvatur per massarios et fancellum camere massariorum comunis Perusii tam in presenti anno quam singulis annis in posterum successuris, pro emenda cera, faculis seu dupleriis cereis pro luminari faciendo, ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei et gloriosissimi nominis Jhesu Christi ad honorandam, devotione sincera, ymaginem seu effigiem beati martiris Herculani protectoris et defensoris comunis Perusini et populi Perusii, in solennitate et celebritate que fit omnibus annis, dum dicta veneranda ymago ab ecclesia Sancti Laurentii ad ecclesiam Sancti Domenici de Perusio devota mente portatur; et quod dicta cera sit, applicetur et convertatur in oblationem pro fabrica et in fabricam ecclesie Sancti Laurentii predicti. Vestre supplicationi, que sanctimoniam redolet, paternis studiis inclinati, omnibus modo, via, jure et forma quibus melius possumus et debemus, auctoritate nostri arbitrii et ex certa nostra scentia presentium tenore decernimus et mandamus, ordinamus, volumus et statuimus, quod dicta quantitas centum quinquaginta librarum den. tam in presenti anno quam annis singulis futuro successuris detur, traddatur et solvatur per massarios et fancellum camere massariorum comunis Perusii presentes et futuros, sine aliqua diminutione, pro emenda cera predicta pro hujusmodi luminari faciendo, ad honorandam dictam ymaginem prefati beati martiris Herculani, tempore loco et modo superius expressis. Et quod cera hujusmodi sit, applicetur et convertatur et ex nunc prout ex tunc censeatur,

et sit applicata attributa, deputata et dedicata singulis annis in oblationem pro fabrica et in fabricam dicte ecclesie Sancti Laurentii: mandantes . . . massariis et fancello predictis, qui per tempora fuerint quod dictam quantitatem pecunie, viso presenti decreto, solvere et dare debeant causa et tempore predictis sub pena V^{c} librarum camere apostolice Perusine, vice qualibet applicandarum, si eam solvendo fuerint negligentes, aliquibus statutis, ordinamentis, legibus et reformationibus ritibus et consuetudinibus in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus, quibus quo ad predicta, derogamus et derogatum esse decernimus et mandamus.—Datum Perusii sub nostro solito sigillo, in palatio nostre residentie, anno millesimo quadringentesimo vicesimo sexto, indictione quarta, die vigesima mensis februarii, pontificatus prefati sanctissimi domini pape anno nono.

CHAPTER THE THIRD

THE GIUOCO DEL CALCIO

"IF we are accustomed, and with good reason, to call that water *dead* which neither itself floweth nor is touched nor agitated by others, in that it neither laboureth nor profiteth any man, but rather corrupteth itself and generateth ill effects; with much better reason shall we call those men *dead* who, leading an easeful and corrupt life, deserve to be abominated and shunned like corpses. Therefore, well and subtilely did Guido Cavalcanti, what time he vaulted over the tombs,[1] reprove Messer Betto Brunelleschi and others of his company, pleasure seekers, ignorant men, and versed in no science or virtuous usage. Now if, according to the opinion of Guido, who in his day was a great philosopher, the exercising of the mental faculties doth make the man alive, what shall we say, Most Serene Grand Duke,[2] of the exercises of the body? Of a surety they not only consume, by the heat of their movements, the ill humours which are generated by superabundant or unwholesome food, but also (awakening us, and, as it were, putting off from us sloth) convert into desire of virtue and of glory those evil thoughts which ease and luxurious living produce. Hence was born that great diligence and care, which all the ancient cities, which were well governed, displayed to keep the people occupied and amused with games and various exercises. Sparta, as long as she obeyed the stern laws of Lycurgus and tormented with harshest toil the bodies of her young men, maintained her puissance without other walls than the sturdy breasts of her citizens. The Persians, while they subjected

[1] The allusion is, of course, to the *Decamerone*, Giorno vi., Nov. ix.

[2] The Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici, b. 1541, d. 1587.

themselves to the severe discipline of Cyrus and accustomed themselves to the hard fatigues of the chase, pursued their victorious way, from east to west, from north to south. The Macedonians, under Alexander the Great, became, by reason of exercise, valiant and ferocious; they broke the Darii with the shock of their onset, and whatever other emperor came against them. The Romans, while they exercised themselves in the *scholæ* and in the *palæstræ*, were so robust that, marching under very heavy burdens, and continuing under arms for long years, they won a boundless empire; and rather was the World too small for them than they for the World. In addition to the writings of the ancients, the ruins of their buildings prove what magnificent Theatres, Circuses, Metæ, Baths and other splendid structures were reared by them, in Olympia, in the Corinthian Isthmus, in Athens, in Rome and in all Italy, for the sole purpose of exercising their youth and of maintaining them fierce and strong. In Florence, too, we still behold the remains of the Amphitheatre constructed by those old builders, imitators of the ancient Roman discipline, to exercise the Florentine youth of an elder time. Moreover, this your City, following in the footsteps of the Romans, hath never neglected, even to our day, the training of its youth in noblest exercises, according to the several seasons of the year: in Spring in the *Pa'lla*[1] and the *Pome*;[2] in the Summer in swimming; in Autumn

[1] *Palla*, ball.—Castiglione, in his *Cortegiano* (i. 22), says: "Ancor nobile esercizio e convenientissimo ad uom di corte è il gioco di palla" (see the edition of V. CIAN, Firenze, Sansoni, 1894, pp. 50 and 134); while BURCKHARDT, *La Civiltà del Rinascimento in Italia* (traduzione italiana, Firenze, 1899–1900), vol. ii. p. 139, calls it "the classical game of Italy." In the 16th century various kinds of ball games were played in Tuscany. In the *Trionfi, Carri, etc., op. cit.*, we read of *Palla al maglio; Palla al trespolo*, and of *il pallone*, with which

s'esce fuori
Quand' è piovuto a 'nfangar le persone
Che ciascun grida: Serra, ecco il pallone.

The best descripion of this sport (?) is to be found in VARCHI, *Storia Fiorentina*, xiii. § 14. As we learn from the sermons of Fra Bernardino, *palla* was played in the streets of Siena, in the 15th century. In one place he speaks of *la palla gonfiata*; in another, he exhorts young girls not to look out o the windows "a vedere giocare a la palla quelli che hanno i giubaregli corti al bellico."—See *Le Prediche Volgari*, ii. 436, 438; iii. 136.

[2] See p. 139 *supra*.—As I have already hinted, the opinion of GIULIO DATI touching the *Giuoco del Pome* is probably a mistaken one. The game seems to have borne a certain similitude to the "prisoner's base," which I remember playing as a child.—See the Note at the end of the chapter.

in the chase;[1] in Winter *nel Saltare a cavallo*,[2] in wrestling and in *Calcio*, as well as in other justly valued exercises, such as mimic battles and riding. Of these last two, as well as of all the other pastimes above mentioned, save only of the *Calcio*, we have abundant dissertations which have been written thereon. But of the *Calcio*, which is to-day the national game of the Florentines, no man, as far as I know, hath treated heretofore. Wherefore I would discourse thereon to the end that, if ever it should come to pass that this game be forgotten and lost, even as the Histrionic art, the Choruses of the Mimes, ancient Music, Magic, the Cabala, and many other arts and sciences are lost, at least there may remain to posterity this little book of mine (if it shall so long live) to give some instruction therein."

So wrote the Count Giovanni de' Bardi, of the Accademìa degli Alterati, il Puro;[3] a man who, judging by the tone of his treatise, would have appreciated as little as did some modern athletes Mr. Kipling's scoffs at "the flannelled fools at the wicket and the muddied oafs at the goal." Born in the 16th century, and himself a player in the palmy days of the game, he was undoubtedly well qualified for the task which he essayed. His book has lived, and, notwithstanding its excessive technicality, is still the principal authority on the subject of which it treats. Indeed, when, after it had been forgotten for a hundred and sixty years, the *Giuoco del*

[1] In *The Voyage of Italy* (edition cited), part i. p. 4, we read: "It (Italy) excells in all kinds of provisions, either for dyet or sport, and I have seen in *Rome* whole cartloads of wild boares, and Venison, brought in at once to be sold in the market; and above threescore Hares in *Florence* brought in, in one day, by the two companyes of Hunters, the *Piaceuoli* and *Piatelli*, on a general hunting day."—As to these two Companies and the rivalry between them, see GIULIO DATI, *Disfida di caccia tra i Piacevoli e Piatelli*, Firenze, per il Magheri, 1824.

[2] *Saltare a cavallo* is defined as "to leap over a certain piece of wood representing a horse; which exercise is called by Vegetius, in Latin, *equorum salitio*."—See G. MANUZZI, *Vocab. della Lingua Italiana*, s.v. "Saltare," § ix.

[3] "Discorso sopra 'l Giuoco del Calcio del Puro Accademico Alterato" in the *Memorie del Calcio Fiorentino, tratte da diverse scritture, e dedicate alle AA. Serenissime di Ferdinando Principe di Toscana, e Violante di Baviera*, Firenze, 1688.—Besides the *Discorso*, these *Memorie* contain the *Capitoli del Calcio Fiorentino*, the *Florentinum Harpastum sive Calcis ludus*, and numerous *Descrizioni* in prose and verse. The reader may further consult a pamphlet entitled *Instruzione del modo del giuocare il Calcio*, dedicated "ai Giovani Nobili Fiorentini," and published in Florence in 1739 "nella Stamperia Granducale." See also GUERRAZZI, *Assedio di Firenze*, cap. xxvii., where the *Giuoco del Calcio* is briefly described.

Calcio was revived in April 1898, to celebrate the centenaries of Paolo Dal Pozzo Toscanelli and of Amerigo Vespucci, a great part of the *Discorso* of Count Giovanni was reprinted in a pamphlet form, "to the end that those who desire to take part in this mediæval resurrection may form an exact idea of the game."[1]

In the 16th century, *Calcio* bore a strong resemblance to our modern football; but, in the earlier phases of its evolution, it was probably little more than a fist fight, the ball itself being hardly an essential part of the game. By the elder writers it is spoken of as a *Battaglia*; and it seems reasonable to suppose that, like the other *Battaglie*, it was, in fact, a development of the *Giuoco del Mazzascudo*. Modern Italians are fond of speaking as if the *Calcio* were the parent of the English game;[2] but when we remember that football is undoubtedly the oldest of our national sports, and has been played for at least six hundred years, it is difficult to understand how it can have owed anything to a pastime which did not exist before the 15th century. We may admit our indebtedness to Italy for tennis and for many better things, but our Saxon forefathers played at football with a Dane's head, on the Roodee at Chester, ere yet the boundaries of Florence were limited *dalla cerchia antica*; and it would be far less absurd to suggest that the Florentines may have obtained their first idea of the *Calcio* from their great English general, Sir John Hawkwood, than it is to maintain that our game is an offspring of theirs.

The *Calcio* was generally played in the Piazza di Santa

[1] GORI, *Il Giuoco del Calcio* (Firenze, Bemporad, 1898), p. 17. Two-thirds of the pamphlet are simply a reprint of portions of the *Discorso*. These are preceded by the "Capitoli," and ten pages of introductory matter. The work has been indifferently translated into English by ISABELLA M. ANDERTON, under the title of *The Foot-Ball of Florence* (Florence, Bemporad, 1898). The fact is that the *Discorso* is in many places practically untranslatable; and what puzzled Guerrazzi—"Poco s'intende," says he, "e a gran pena"—may well have proved an insurmountable task for an English lady.

[2] See, for example, G. FRANCESCHI, *Il Giuoco del Pallone e gli altri affini* (Milano, Hoepli, 1903), pp. 130–131.—Signor Cav. P. GORI (*op. cit.*, p. 7) asserts that the *Giuoco del Calcio* "è risorto nel secolo nostro ed è emigrato in America, dove, sotto il titolo di *Foot-ball*, è tenuto in altissimo onore." He, however, neglects to state how this emigration took place, at a period when the Florentine game was almost forgotten, and never played. Patriotism is undoubtedly a virtue, but it should be exercised with discretion.

Croce, although there are records of games which took place on the Piazza di Santo Spirito, on that of Santa Maria Novella, and on the "Prato," hard by the gate of the same name.

The *campo*, or field of play, consisted of a rectangular space, 172 braccia in length, and 86 braccia wide, which was fenced in by posts and rails some two braccia high. One side of this enclosure was called "*il muro*—the wall"; the other, "*la fossa*—the ditch." The object of the players was to drive the ball, with feet or fists, over what, for convenience sake, we may term the enemy's "goal-line," although, as a matter of fact, in the Florentine game there were no goals, the whole line of posts and rails, at either end of the field of play, being open to attack. In order to score, it was necessary that the ball should be driven over this line by a direct punt or a fist blow. This was called a *caccia*; and the game was won by the side which gained the greatest number of *caccie*.

The players were allowed to run with the ball, to kick, strike or throw it; but if, when thrown or struck with the open hand, it rose above the height of an ordinary man, this constituted a *fallo*, or fault; and two *falli* were equal to a *caccia*. There was also a *fallo* when the ball was driven out of the field of play, on the side of the Ditch, by a direct punt or fist blow; if, however, it bounced out off the ground, there was no penalty.

After a *caccia* or two *falli* had been scored, ends were changed.

The players were twenty-seven on a side. Their qualifications are thus described in the *Discorso*:—"They should not be children, because childhood is too tender, nor old men, because senility is dried up and may not suffer the sweats and endure the fatigues which must be incurred, running, charging and striking. Neither of young men are all suitable, since those who are lean, or ugly, or deformed would make a ridiculous show in the piazza. Moreover, even as every kind of man was not admitted to the Olympic Games, but only men of standing (*padri*) in their native cities and kingdoms; so, in the *Calcio*, all kinds of rascallions are not to be tolerated, neither artificers, servants, nor low-born fellows, but honour-

able soldiers, gentlemen, lords and princes. Therefore to play at *Calcio* there will be chosen gentlemen, from eighteen years of age to forty-five, beautiful and vigorous, of gallant bearing and of good report, to the end that such champions may be in all respects admirable and welcome.

"As to the season in which the *Calcio* should be played, that is taught by the Sun, the lord of the hours, and the captain of the year; because, even as every season doth not give birth to beauteous flowers, so every season doth not invite young men to the delights of the *Calcio*; inasmuch as this game, being one of extreme fatigue, may not be conveniently continued after the cold weather is past. Therefore doth it run its course from the Calends of January until March, and then ceaseth, to return again to us every year, even as doth the Sun, at the same point. But because the *Calcio* is a spectacle which is more beautiful in proportion to the number of the spectators, therefore, among other days, those of the festivals of Bacchus, to wit the Carnival, are dedicated to the most solemn representations thereof. Moreover, even as a bow, which remaineth too long strung, becometh weak and over flexible, so is it with all contests, in that they cannot be carried on from morning until night. Hence the game should commence when the Sun beginneth to descend toward the West, and end when Twilight showeth that he is about to yield to Night. Since scarcely is it possible to sustain such sweats, onsets and blows for more than an hour or two.[1]

"The dress of every player should be such as not to hamper or impede his movements. Thus it is not convenient that he should wear anything save a doublet and cap, stockings and light shoes, because the less he is encumbered, the better will he be able to use his limbs, to turn and to run swiftly. Above all doth it behove every man to wear goodly raiment and seemly, well fitting and handsome; because the fairest ladies of the City, and the principal gentlemen are there, to look upon the game; and he who appeareth badly clad

[1] In the 17th century the game seems to have lasted rather less than an hour; thus in the description of the *Calcio* of 1st May 1691, published by Cav. P. GORI, in his *Giuoco del Calcio e le Signorie festeggianti* (Firenze, F. Lumachi, 1902), we read: "Terminò la detta Mostra alle ore 23, e poco dopo cominciò la battaglia, che durò circa tre quarti d'ora, e terminò alle ore 24 conforme il solito."

maketh but an ill show and acquireth evil report thereby. Much more should the players be well dressed and adorned on the solemn *Giorno della Livrea*,[1] because, on that day, the theatre is more than ever full of people. Wherefore let each of the sides be clad in different colours, in satin, in velvet or cloth of gold, as the *Maestri del Calcio* nominated by your Highness shall command." Without its concomitant æsthetic splendours, the game would have had but small attractions for the pageant-loving Florentines. For them, life under the Medicean princes had become one long masquerade.

The players on each side were divided as follows :—

1. Fifteen *innanzi*, or "forwards," who followed the ball (*quali corrono la palla*), dribbling it for the most part. They were also called *corridori*.

2. Five *sconciatori*, or "half-backs." It was their duty to break the rush of the *innanzi*; and they were called *sconciatori* from the *sconcio* or check which they gave them.

3. Four *datori innanzi*, or "three-quarters," "who give strong and direct blows to the ball." The phrase *dare alla palla*, in the terminology of the game, means to strike the ball with the fist.

4. Three *datori addietro*, or "full-backs."

"When the game of *Calcio* is played *senza livrea*, drums sound, and Tuscan trumpets, with cheerful blasts, invite every gentleman and seignior to take his place in a great circle which is formed on the field of play—*a far cerchio e corona nel mezzo del campo*; clad in doublets and stockings, as I have said above. Then, from this circle, are elected two captains, players at *Calcio*, men of judgment and experience, who, since it will be their duty to choose the teams, ought to know all the youths of the city, and be acquainted with the nature and worth of each one. . . . First they choose four *datori innanzi* for each side, beginning with the one who shall rule the side or wing of the Ditch, and one who shall

[1] *Livrea*, livery. *Giorno della Livrea*, Day of Livery, *i.e.*, a day on which the game is played in full dress. *Calcio senza livrea*, Calcio without livery; an undress performance—"scratch match."

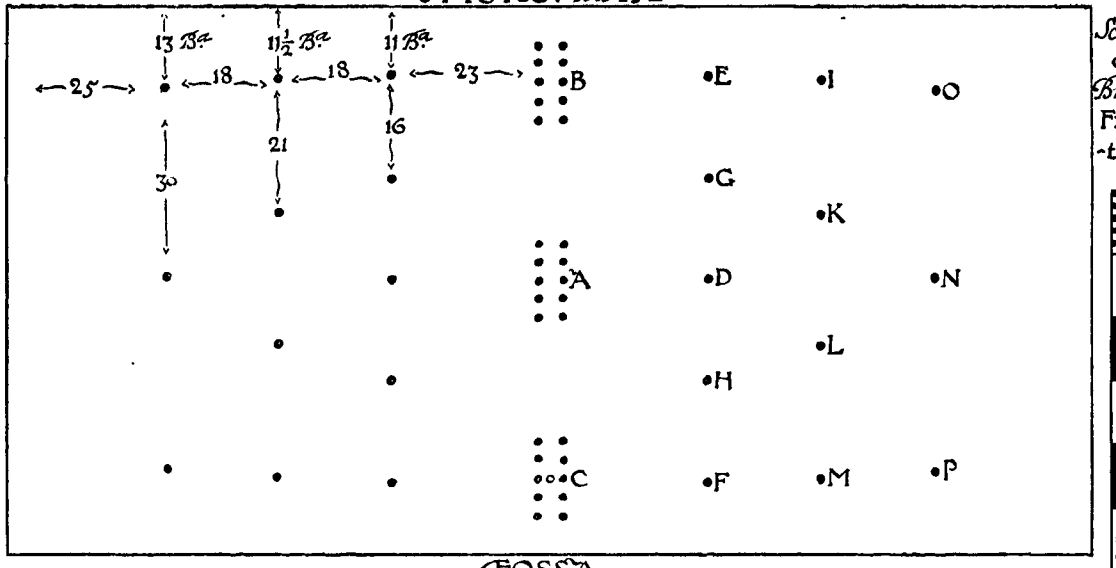
rule that of the Wall. Thereafter, they choose the other two, whose places are in the centre. Next, the *datori addietro* are chosen, three for each side. The *datori innanzi* should be large of limb and strong. Above all should he of the Wall be strong and of measureless striking powers (*di smisurato colpo*); whereas he of the Ditch should be an experienced player and very agile. The *datori addietro* should be swift runners, of high courage and great hitting capacity.

"All the *datori* being chosen, the next business is the selection of five *sconciatori* for each side; powerful men, big, fierce and muscular, and of great skill. Especially should he who plays next the Wall be the biggest and heaviest man of all the team, while he who plays next the Ditch should be agile and dexterous, with long experience of the game. The *sconciatore* in the centre should have good legs (*buona gamba*); and the remaining two must be, for reasons which shall be set forth hereafter, most ferocious (*ferocissimi*). Thereafter, the *innanzi* are picked, one by one, until there are fifteen on each side. They should be young and agile, swift, long-winded and very courageous."

Such was the method of choosing the teams for an ordinary game. When, however, it was proposed to *fare il Calcio a Livrea*, the selection did not take place in the piazza, but in the house of one of the principal gentlemen of the city. Thither all the best players resorted, and the choice was only made after careful discussion. Sometimes there were two or three trial matches before the teams were finally settled and the day of the contest published.

Each side was provided with an *Alfiere*, or standard-bearer, whose duties appear to have been very similar to those of the *Alfieri* in the Pisan game. It was their business to draw lots for choice of positions before the match began; and, after it was over, they were expected to invite their respective sides to a sumptuous banquet, the anticipation of which seems to have insured them, at any rate, a temporary popularity.[1]

[1] "Ben è ragione, che ciascuna parte vada a cavar di casa l'Alfier suo, e corteggiandolo per la Città si diporti; perchè l'uno, e l'altro fa poi alla sua schiera un bel convito."—*Il Discorso, op. cit.*, pp. 10–11. This was obviously the *Alfiere's* only merit, as he did not



A. *Quadriglia* del mezzo B. *Quadriglia* del muro C. *Quadriglia* della fossa
D. *Sconciatore dritto* del mezzo E. *Sconciatore dritto* del muro F. *Sconciatore dritto* della fossa G. *Sconciatore traverso* del muro H. *Sconciatore traverso* della fossa I. *Datore innanzi* del muro K. *Datore innanzi allato a quello* del muro
L. *Datore innanzi allato a quello* della fossa M. *Datore innanzi* della fossa
N. *Datore addietro* del mezzo O. *Datore addietro* del muro P. *Datore addietro* della fossa

PIANTA ET ORDINANZA DELLE DUE SQUADRE COME STANNO IN ATTO DI PRINCIPIARE IL GIOCO

The game was preceded by the *Mostra del Calcio alla Livrea*, or procession of the players in full dress.

First marched the trumpeters and other musicians, followed by the thirty *innanzi*, walking two and two and hand in hand. If the colours worn by the one team were green and by the other red, and if, in the first pair, a green *innanzi* walked on the right-hand side and a red *innanzi* on the left, in the second pair the positions were reversed, a red *innanzi* walking on the right and a green on the left. In the third pair the positions were the same as in the first pair, and so on.

Behind the *innanzi* marched the two *Alfieri*, each preceded by the drummer of his own *Livrea*. Then came the *sconciatori*, the *datori innanzi* (of whom, those of the Wall, as the most worthy, carried *la palla della Livrea*); and lastly, the *datori addietro*.[1]

The procession moved once round the piazza;[2] then the teams separated and proceeded towards their separate pavilions, which were pitched at opposite ends of the enclosure. The umpires, six veteran players, had already occupied their places, "on an honourable and elevated seat, built for that purpose, in the midst of one of the sides of the piazza." Finally, the trumpets sounded "to set the battle in array."

As to the positions of the various players, at the beginning of the game, the reader is referred to the accompanying diagram.

There was no kick-off; play being commenced very much as it is in the modern Australian game, with this difference, that the ball was not bounced in the middle of the field, but

play in the game, but merely "fooled round" with his banner. The principle seems worthy of adoption. For example, might not the cockswain of his College eight—an individual of whom the poet has sung that

> A cox is an object of scorn to his boat,
> And a being too humble to praise—

acquire a position of increased consideration if it were understood that he paid for the "bump-supper"?

[1] These processions were often united with masquerades in which the *Potenze* took part. —See P. GORI, *Il Giuoco del Calcio e le Signorie festeggianti*, *op. cit.*

[2] *Discorso*, *op. cit.*, p. 11. In the *Mostra*, which preceded the game of 1st May 1691, there were "più girate attorno la Piazza e varie rivolte."—P. GORI, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

from the middle of the side known as the Wall, where was placed "a certain mark or sign made of marble or otherwise." On this marble, the *pallaio*—an official who was clad in both the colours of the *livrea*, as a man impartial and disinterested —struck the ball so strongly that it forthwith rebounded between the squadrons of the *innanzi* playing at the Wall. This was called *il battere la palla.*

Touching this method of commencing the game, the Count Giovanni de' Bardi says: "On this wise they use to *battere la palla*; but I am disposed to believe that better were it so to do in the actual centre of the field of play, to wit in the centre of the piazza, and not of the Wall; there to set it on the marble, and there to strike it, in the midst of the *innanzi* surrounding it; so that it should bound high in the air and fall. This would be a fair sight to see, and the spot would be more reasonable and more perfect. Moreover, it would be a return to the ancient usage, wherefrom we have departed; whereto even more fully should we conform if, instead of striking the ball, it were set upon the marble, and the thirty *innanzi* surrounded it, in a great and perfect ring, ready to run toward it, at a given signal, like lines from the circumference of a circle to its centre. The which commencement of the battle would contain within itself every sort of perfection and beauty."

Another method of placing the *innanzi* was to draw them up in two parallel lines, extending from the Wall to the centre of the piazza, after the manner of a modern "line-out"; but the division into three squadrons, or *quadriglie* (as shown in the diagram), seems to have been the most usual arrangement.

When the *pallaio* bounced the ball into play, it generally fell between the *quadriglie del muro*, where there would be a loose scrimmage. Whoever obtained the ball dribbled it, assisted by two of his companions, while the other two, the biggest and strongest of the *quadriglia*, opened a way for the dribblers, by charging their opponents, adopting, in fact, somewhat similar tactics to those which developed into the American "wedge-play." The main duty of the *sconciatori*

VEDVTA DELLA PIAZZA DI S.TA CROCE DELLA CITTA DI FIRENZE NEL ATTO DI PRINCIPIARE IL GIOCO DEL CALCIO S.T.A 1688.

Alexander Lucatelli fec.

was to stop this rush, and to enable one of their *datori* to get hold of the ball and to strike it with his fist, sending it back over the heads of the hostile *innanzi*, who were then expected to retire and get "on side" again. If they declined to do so, there was, as far as I can discover, no penalty; but such play was considered very "bad form," and if they lingered too long, it was the duty of the *sconciatori* to accelerate their departure. This, I infer, was, as a rule, effected by assault and battery; and as the *sconciatori* were the biggest men on the ground, and two of them at least, *ferocissimi*,[1] it is to be presumed that the *innanzi* generally played the game correctly.

If the *sconciatori* were charged down, the *datori innanzi* took their places, endeavouring, in their turn, to stop the rush, and to pass the ball to their *datori addietro*. The various *quadriglie* were advised not to get mixed together, except when there was great danger of the enemy scoring a *caccia*; and picking up the ball and running with it was discountenanced in the case of an *innanzi*, except as a last resort. Even the *datori* seem to have relied almost entirely on hitting the ball with their fists, merely running with it far enough to get free space in which to strike it properly.

The reader will now be in a position to understand the *Canto del fare al Calcio* of Messer Giovambatista dell' Ottonaio, Herald of the Signoria of Florence, and author of not a few *Canti Carnascialeschi*, a poem which throws so much light upon the game that I cannot do better than transcribe it in full.

Al Prato, al Calcio, su giovani assai;
Or che le palle balzan più che mai.
Non è giuoco più ricco, o bel di questo,
Nè che più piacer dia,
E faccia un giovin più gagliardo, e presto,
Innanzi, indietro, o in mezzo, ch' egli stia;
Purchè quel posto sia,
Dov' egli ha maggior pratica, e destrezza;
Chè chi 'ndietro s'avvezza,
Dinanzi non fa bene al Calcio mai.

[1] See p. 168 *supra*.

Mettonsi innanzi i più giovani, e destri,
Ch' è vantaggio ogni volta
Por dietro, e 'n mezzo pratichi maestri,
Ch' al primo la rimbecchin, ma di colta;
Ch' è cosa brutta, e stolta
Il gettarla con mano, e fassi fallo,
Qual poi a racquistallo
Si pena un pezzo, e non si vince mai.
Il Calcio nel buon tempo, e nell' asciutto
Piace a più giucatori:
Chi è gagliardo si mette per tutto,
Nè si cura di fanghi, o di mollori;
Ma perchè sconciatori
Ci è oggi più che mai, ma senza ingegno;
Chi ha poco disegno,
Non lo chiamate a sconciar nulla mai.
Da chi va 'nnanzi colle man, si guardi
Chi ha debol natura,
Così da certi rincontri gagliardi,
Che per la furia spezzerien le mura;
E chi non s' ha ben cura
Dalla fossa, e dal muro, e cader sotto,
O s'imbratta, o gli è rotto
Il capo, e mal guarisce, e netta mai.
Questi, che furon già nel calcio dotti,
Si risenton quest' anno,
E voglion dare a molti giovanotti
Del calcio sei buon colpi, se potranno:
Massime mostreranno
Ch' oggidì si giuoca più per dispetto
Che onore, o diletto;
Onde al calcio si fa peggio che mai.
Quando s' è fatto una caccia, o perduta
Chi è di sotto stato
Salta disopra, e quanto può s'ajuta
Di sotto, e sopra, e nel mezzo, e da lato.
Doman saremo al Prato
Colle trombe, col zucca, e colle palle,
E tante, e tante palle,
Che non son per mancar le palle mai.

Of the impression which the game made upon an English traveller in the 17th century, we may judge from the description of Richard Lassels, who visited Florence, during the reign of Ferdinand II. (1621–1670).

"The *Florentines*," he says, "enjoying, by the goodness and wisdome of their excellent Prince, the fruits of peace, haue many recreations, where the people passe their time chearfully, and think not of rebellion by muttering in corners.

For this reason, both in *winter*, and *sommer*, they haue their seueral diuertisments. In *winter* their *Giuoco di Calcio* (a play something like our football, but that they play with their hands[1]) euery night from the *Epiphany* till *Lent*, with their *Principi di Calcio.* This being a thing particular to *Florence*, deserves to be described. The two *factions* of the *Calcio*, the *Red* and the *Green*, choose each of them a *Prince*, some young *Cavalier* of a good purse. These *Princes* being chosen, choose a world of *Officers*, and lodge, for the time, in some great pallace; where they keep their courts, receiue *Embassadors* from one another, and giue them publik audience in state, send poste to one another, complaine of one anothers subiects, & take prisoners from one another; heare their counsellors one after another, disswadeing from, or perswadeing to warre; giue orders for setling their affairs at home, heare the complaints of their subiects, ieere their enemy Princes in embassyes; and at last resolue to fight, with proclayming warre. During these serious treatyes which last for many nights the *Secretaryes of state* (two prime witts) read before their seueral Princes *bills* for regulating and reforming the abuses of their subiects; and read openly *petitions* and *secret aduices*; in all which they ieere a world of people in the towne, and show prodigious wit. In fine, hauing spunn out thus the time till neare *Carnavale* or *shroftide*, the two Princes resolue on a battle at *Calcio*, to be fought in the *Piazza* of *Santa Croce*, before the *Great Duke* and *Court.* Vpon the day apointed, the two *Princes* of the *Calcio* come to the place in a most stately *Cavalcata* with all the yong noblemen and gentlemen of the towne, vpon the best horses they can finde, with *scarfs*, *red* or *green*, about their *Armes.* Hauing made their seueral *Cavalcatas* before the *Great Dukes throne* or *scaffold*, they light from their horses, and enter into the *lists* with trompets sounding before them, and accompanyed with a stately train, and with their

[1] The natural inference to be drawn from this sentence, *i.e.*, that the English game in the 17th century was really *football*, and was played with the feet, does not receive much support from Mr. SHEARMAN's brief *History* of the pastime, in the *Badminton Library* (*Football*, edition of 1901). When, however, he makes himself responsible for the statement that "of the game known from the Middle Ages to the present time as football nb trace can be found in any country but our own," we may well doubt if his knowledge of his subject is exhaustive.

combatants in their seueral liveryes. Hauing rancked themselues a prety distance one from the other, their standard bearers at sound of trumpet, carry both at once, their standards to the foot of the *Great Dukes scaffold.* This done, the *Ball* or *Ballon*[1] is throwne up in the midst between them, and to it they go with great nimbleness, sleight, and discretion; and sometimes they fall to it in deed and cuff handsomely; but vpon payne of death, no man must resent afterwards out of the lists, what euer happened here; but all animosities arriseing here, end here too. At last that side which throwes, or strikes the *Ballon* over the *rayles* of the other side, winns the day, and runns to the *standards*, which they carry away till night, at what time the conquering *Prince* entertains them at a *Festino di Ballo* at *Court*, made to some *Lady*; and where all his chief officers and combatants dance alone with the *Ladyes* at the *Ball*, none els being permitted to dance with them that night."[2]

Apropos of our author's remark that sometimes the players "fall to it in deed and cuff handsomely," we may quote once more from the *Discorso*; where it is laid down that, when a fight arises between two of the players, the rest should not leave the ball in order to join in the fray lest the game should be spoilt, "and instead of being a pleasant competition between gentlemen, should become a furious struggle between mad beasts, dishonoured in the esteem of all the nobles of the City." Men are not stocks and stones, and must needs resent "discourtesy" (by "discourtesy" is meant unfair, rough or brutal play—*giuocando fuori del dovere con modi villani e scortesi*), but not too readily, "in that the strong man maketh no account of blows which only bruise and discolour the body and cannot stain the honour."

Besides the *Giuoco del Calcio* which was played during the siege of Florence, on the 17th of February 1529, and which has been immortalized by Guerazzi, the historians of the city record other famous games, among the rest, one

[1] The game of "baloon" was known in England at this period, and seems to have been quite distinct from football. It is mentioned by BURTON, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, as a common recreation among the country folk.—Compare M. SHEARMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[2] *The Voyage of Italy*, part i. pp. 212-215.

which was celebrated at Lyons in 1575. It is, however, unnecessary to refer to them in this place, since they have already been described by Signor Cav. P. Gori, in his work above quoted, as also in the English version of Mrs. Anderton.

NOTE

Giuoco del Pome [1]

Il giuoco del pome è più libero et più sciolto et manco terminato et di minor numero di giovani ch'il Calcio, et ne' nostri tempi manco onesto, perchè nudo si giuoca;[2] et per questo è più familiare a pastori et alle ville che a quelli delle città.

Si fa tal giuoco da 14 giovani, de' quali dua eletti s'adomandano comandatori, l'ofizio de' quali è comandare a' suoi che presti si difendino di non essere presi, et presi vadino a pigliare il nimico, il quale preso dà, vinto, una caccia.

Sono adunque sei per banda, eletti per sorte da i comandatori, in uno spazio di campo prato o renaio di 140 passi o incirca lungo, terminato di sopra et di sotto dalle Bombe, quadre, et larghe tanto nelle quali a fila stieno disposti i giuocatori nudi presso l'uno all' altro, avendo per uno uno braccio di spazio. Nel mezo della lunghezza et larghezza è uno termine il quale si chiama *mezzo pome*, al quale viene uno da una delle Bande a chiedere mezzo pome,

[1] From a Florentine codex of the 16th century, preserved in the Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana. It is known as the *Trattato sull' arte ginnastica.*—Compare A. Furno, *Un coaice di giuochi popolari fiorentini del secolo XVI*, in the "Rivista delle Biblioteche e degli Archivi," Anno XIV, fasc. Luglio-Agosto, 1903.

[2] Compare Il Lasca, *Canto di giuocatori di pome*, in *Tutti i trionfi, etc., op. cit.*, p. 501:

> Donne, volendo far bene questo giuoco,
> Ingnudi esser convien di mano in mano;
> Ma pur si trova ancor qualche dappoco,
> Che l' usa far vestito, e noi 'l sappiamo;
> Ma s' affatica in vano,
> Chè giucando co' panni, mala prova
> Sempremai fassi, e poco piace, e giova.

mandato dal suo comandatore;[1] et al rincontro di questo ne è mandato uno altro dall' altra parte dal suo comandatore nel medesimo modo per pigliarlo. Ma non può essere preso da lui, ma sì bene nel fuggire et trattenerlo debbe ingegnarsi di farlo pigliare da quello de' suoi che inmediate gle mandato aridosso nel pigliarlo; et così seguita insino che sieno nelle Bombe giucatori.[2]

[1] Compare IL LASCA, *loc. cit.*

Sempre mandar quei, che più giovin sono
Innanzi, par che sia più consueto,
A chieder mezzo pome; e dopo è buono
Che gli altri arditamente seguan dreto. . . .

[2] C^ta 20*a*. See also, in the same codex, c^te 57*b*, 58*a*.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH

THE ELMORA AND THE PUGNA

Chi vedesse azzuffar costoro in piazza
Con tanta pertinacia per la parte,
Avendo mille carte
Non crederia che non fusser nimici
E l' altro dì son fratelli ed amici.

GENTILE SERMINI, *Il giuoco delle pugna.*

ORIGINALLY, Siena seems to have consisted of three separate fortresses. To the north was that of *Camollia*; to the south-west was *Castel Vecchio*, or (as it is called in at least one document of the 11th century) *Castel Senio*; and to the south-east the *Castello di Val di Montone*. Here, if we may credit the old writers, we discover the reason why, in Latin, Siena was spoken of in the plural number, *Senæ Senarum*; and here, too, we may seek the origin of the subsequent division of the city into *Terzi* or *Terzieri*.

Throughout the Communal period the three *Terzi* remained, in many respects, separate communities. Each had its own organization, civil, military and economic. The number of the Supreme Magistracy of the Republic, from the time of the Consuls onwards, will be found to be nearly always a multiple of three—24, 36, 15, 9, 18, and so forth—and it was, as a rule, composed of an equal number of citizens taken from each *Terzo*; while in the *Constituto del Comune* of 1262, it was provided that "si contigerit potestatem Senensem stetisse vel habitasse in uno terçerio civitatis per annum, non debeat eius successor in eodem terçerio habitare, nisi duobus annis mediantibus."[1] And all this was necessary because the interests of the three *Terzi* were often opposed;

[1] Dist. i. Rubr. 211.

although, as a rule, in all cases of discord, the *Terzi* of Camollia and of San Martino were leagued together against that of the City.[1]

According to the legend of the origin of the City, this antagonism began at a very early date; and it is said that the arms of the Commune, the party-coloured shield known as the *Balzana*, owes its adoption to a portent which occurred at the first reconciliation of the rival fortresses.[2]

Other writers tell us that, in the year 935, the French nobles (*i nobili Franzesi*) who had succeeded to the castles of the Longobards in the Sienese contado, and who lived in a perpetual state of warfare with one another, were compelled to compose their petty quarrels by reason of the ravages of the Mohammedan corsairs, who, having surprised and destroyed Genoa, passed into the Maremma of Tuscany and sacked Roselle. Alarmed by this common peril, the said nobles resolved to unite their forces and to take refuge in some strongly fortified city. For this purpose Siena was selected; and that the more readily, because the descendants of the French gentlemen, who had settled there in the days of Charlemagne, were willing to extend a welcome to their fellow-countrymen.

The Sienese, however, refused to admit them, "fearing that this new folk, being unaccustomed to obey the laws and the magistrates, would afford an occasion of disunion and division among the people." Nevertheless, in the end and after much insistence, they were permitted to build huts in the neighbourhood of the city, and to hold a market for the necessities of life outside the gates. Before long, ill blood was engendered between the townsfolk and their new neighbours, who, according to Bartolommeo Benvoglienti, inhabited the two castles of Camollia and Val di Montone.

[1] See my *Historical Introduction* to Miss LUCY OLCOTT'S *Guide to Siena*, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–45 note.

[2] For the legendary origin of the City generally, see LANGTON DOUGLAS, *History of Siena*, chap. i.—This work, as I have already hinted, no student of mediæval Siena can afford to neglect; and this is equally the case whether he understands Italian or not, for no Italian book exists which covers anything like the same ground. Thus one of the greatest living Italian historians has not hesitated to welcome Professor Douglas' book as one which comes "a compiere ed a dare l'ultima mano alle ricerche regionali degli ultimi vent' anni." —See the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, vol. ix. (1902), pp. 385–392.

THE ELMORA AND THE PUGNA

The Piazza del Campo, or *Campus Fori*, as it was then called, was situated in the midst of these *resedi*, and was divided breadthwise by a great wall, and lengthwise by the rain-water. Here were held the markets; and here, the Sienese and the French frequently quarrelled and fought; for, when the citizens came thither to sell their merchandise and ventured to encroach upon that part of the Campo which the new comers had appropriated as their own, these latter were ill content to behold them vending their wares within their boundaries; so that from words they came to blows and bloodshed, the people hurrying from every side to give support and assistance to their respective factions. These conflicts were long and stubborn; and, after one party or the other had been put to the rout, the victors naturally plundered the booths of the vanquished, seizing as booty such eggs, cheese, fowls and other edibles as they found therein. And this, says Benvoglienti, occurred especially *inanti ai giorni della quaresima, quando le robe si comprano più care.*

Later on, when the original city—the ancient *Castel Vecchio* (*Castellum Vetus*)—and its suburbs were all united within one circuit of walls, these time-honoured conflicts long continued to be commemorated at Carnival time, in the same spot, by means of divers popular games, all of which retained the semblance of actual battles; and Benvoglienti informs us that, as late as the 15th century, the victors were still wont to sack the shops of the cheesemongers and wine-sellers according to the ancient usage—a custom which, one would suppose, can hardly have commended itself to mere tradesmen; and which we may, perhaps, compare with the strange prescriptive right claimed by the Roman populace, of plundering the palace of a newly elected Pope.

The earliest of these games was probably that of *Mazzascudo*, or, as the Sienese called it, from the helmets which were worn by the players, *il giuoco dell' Elmora.* From the *Costituto* of 1309–1310, we learn that besides the *elmora* those who took part in the combat wore *cestarelle* and *cuffie*, both of which seem to have been used to protect the head. If I am not mistaken, however, the *cestarella* was used as an alternative for the *elmora*, being made either of

basket-work, or, perhaps, like the head-pieces adopted in the Pavian game,[1] of wood; while the *cuffia* was probably worn under the *elmora* or *cestarella*, and corresponded pretty closely to the Pisan *falzata*.[2] The body was protected by a cuirass or breastplate (*corazza, lammiera*), the thighs by cuisses (*cosciaroni*), and the lower part of the legs by greaves (*gamberuoli*). The *scudo*, which seems to have been made of wood covered with leather, and the *mazza* completed the player's equipment.[3] Stone-throwing was, as far as we can judge, a regular concomitant of the game, but does not seem to have been systematized, as in the *Battaglia de' Sassi* of Perugia. Fatal results were by no means uncommon, and the same statute to which we have already referred, as excepting the riders in the Palio from the ordinary penalties for wounding and homicide,[4] extends the like immunity to those *qui vulnerarent pro ludo et in bataglia que fieret in Campo Fori, ut consuetum est.*

In 1238, Pietro Parenzi of Rome, Potestà of Siena, in order as far as possible to prevent accidents, instructed Orlandino, *Castaldus comunis*, not to permit such of the citizens as were insufficiently armed to take part in the contest; a restriction which seems to have been highly resented by a certain Adota di Canaccio, who doubtless considered that, as a free-born Sienese, he was entitled to get his head broken at his own good pleasure. At any rate, he attempted to join in the game without his shield, and clad only in a leather jerkin. Orlandino requested him to retire, and, in his indignation at so outrageous a curtailment of his liberty, he so far forgot himself as to exclaim: "A fine Potestà this of ours; bad luck to him!"—a piece of disrespect to the First Magistrate of the Republic for which he was condemned to pay a fine of sixty soldi.[5]

[1] "Habent enim in capitibus galeas ligneas, quas Cistas vocant, pannis et mollibus interius exteriusque partitas, habentes in superficie decisa vel depicta suæ Societatis insignia, et ante faciem cratem ferream circumflexam, etc."—MURATORI, *Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane* (edition cited), tom. ii. p. 3.

[2] See p. 118 *supra*.

[3] In addition to the extracts from the *Constituto*, printed at the end of the chapter, see the *Miscellanea Storica Senese*, vol. ii. (1894), p. 92.

[4] P. 63 *supra*.

[5] R. ARCH. DI STATO IN SIENA, *Libri dei Pretori del 1238*, a c^ta^ 136. "Item Adotam

However, notwithstanding all precautions, one or more citizens lost their lives every year; and, in 1253, a statute was passed forbidding the throwing of stones,[1] while, before the last quarter of the century, the *Elmora* was prohibited altogether;[2] although it continued to be played for some years longer in spite of the law.

The incidents which preceded its final abolition are thus described by Agnolo di Tura, and are generally attributed to 1291:[3]

"In Siena there was a great battle of Elmora, after this manner, that the Terzo of San Martino and the Terzo of Camollia fought with the Terzo di Città, on such wise that the Terzo di Città was driven back even to the Chiasso delle Mora. And there did they receive succour from the Casato, and from the Piazza Manetti, and of Casa Scotti and of the Forteguerri. Then began they to cast stones, and afterward they fought hand to hand with great assault of battle. And thither came well nigh all Siena; either to join in the fray or to interpose to separate the combatants. But so great was the confusion and shouting that no man might hear himself speak; neither were they able to stop the battle. Whereby it befel that there were slain x gentlemen, besides many of the baser sort; and many were wounded; until, at last, the Terzo di Città was victorious, and drove back the Terzo di San Martino and that of Camollia, until they thrust them forth from the Campo. And in good sooth, if Misser Pino, the Potestà, had not forced his way into the mêlée with his folk and compelled those men to lay down their arms, there would have been a greater slaughter. And, by reason of this battle, it was ordained that, from thenceforth, the game should not be played with staves and with stones, but that they who joined therein should use their fists alone (*E per questa battaglia si levò via, che non si giocasse con battaglia di*

Canaccii in lx sol., quia, cum Orlandinus Castaldus Comunis, mandato Potestatis, ivisset ad custodiendum ne homines inhermes intrent intra armatos in bactallia in Campo fori, et invenisset dictum Adotam cum mantello vel pelle inter armatos, et redarguisset eum quod ita manebat, et dixit ei quod Potestas preceperat ei quod faceret admoveri inhermes ab armatis; dixit ei dictus Adota: Vadà cum mala fortuna! Ecce pulcre Potestates!"

[1] *Constituto Senese* (1262–1270), Dist. v. Rubr. 33.

[2] *Ibidem*, Rubr. 194.

[3] *Cronica Sanese* in MURATORI, xv. col. 42.

pertiche, nè di sassi, ma si giocasse a le pugna per meno scandalo), and, on this wise, had the game of the *Pugna* its commencement in Siena; and so they abolished the other battles. And it was perilous; and it seemed that the State itself was endangered, in that the passions of the people were aroused by much fighting. And this befel on All Saints day."

Such is one account of the origin of the *Giuoco delle Pugna*;[1] but, according to other writers, it is much more ancient; and the latter view is supported by the statute of 1253, already referred to. From it we learn that, at the date of its enactment, the Pugna was habitually played *in Campo Fori*; while the fact that it alone is specifically mentioned, the Elmora and the other "battles" being only alluded to in general terms,—*pugna et alii ludi*,—gives colour to the position that it was even then the principal Sienese game.

"Some think (says Tommasi) that this pastime was permitted because it was less dangerous and barbarous than those others which were prohibited, and also as being of some public utility—not only as affording an outlet whereby old enmities might harmlessly evaporate, which otherwise would have led to the drawing of weapons and to death, but also as accustoming the citizens to range themselves in order of battle, to attack and to stand upon the defensive . . . thereby rendering them valiant and ready to fight, and to

[1] It may not be without interest to note that a very similar account is given of the origin of the *Pugna* in Gubbio, which is said by REPOSATI, in his *Vita di S. Ubaldo*, to have been substituted for an older and more sanguinary *battaglia*, which was abolished, by the efforts of the Saint, in the second quarter of the 12th century. In Gubbio the *Pugna* seems to have continued to flourish up to the 18th century. "After the octave of Easter, I know not whether for eight or for fifteen days, this game (*lizza*) continued. As the city was divided into four *quartieri*, so were these divided, two against two; to wit, the Quartiere di San Giuliano and the Quartiere di San Martino, which were called *di sopra*, against those of Sant' Andrea and San Pietro, which were called *di sotto*. The victory was won by those two *quartieri*, which drove their rivals and enemies, by force of fist blows, forth from their respective districts, compelling them to take shelter in their houses and streets. It was a pleasant sight to look upon from the windows and other high places, where one could not be hurt; and thus have I seen this battle when a child. Thither came every class of persons of the male sex, nobles, citizens and artisans, either to begin the fight, or to assist their partisans when they began to give way. That which was excellent about the game is this, that, albeit the majority of the combatants returned to their homes, bruised, beaten and disfigured, nevertheless they bore no grudge, but were as good friends with their adversaries as before the combat, blaming themselves alone for their own and their faction's lack of prowess." (*Op. cit.*, edition of 1760, p. 130 *et seq.*)

Is it possible that this game has any connection with the *Festa dei Ceri*, which is still celebrated at Gubbio, at about the same season of the year?

a certain extent inuring them to bloodshed, all of which things make men more apt and eager for military service. But I believe that the reason why our ancestors favoured the Pugna, and allowed it to obtain the countenance both of law and of custom, was that it was an obvious token and record of the antiquity of the city. For we read in the History of Livy, that Tarquinius Priscus, after the defeat of the Latins and the sack of Apiolæ, constructed the Circus Maximus; and that, among the other spectacles and public games then exhibited to the people, was that of the Pugna—he having sent for players from Tuscany.[1] And because, in Tuscany, to play at the Pugna is, and ever hath been, the prerogative of the Sienese people, I am persuaded that these players came from Siena. Hence it is, by reason of this tradition, that the game hath ever been held in such high esteem by our city, and was so greatly favoured by the people. And it hath ever been deemed a seemly thing to play thereat, yea, even for a noble or a magistrate.[2]

"This game of the Pugna," says Gigli, " . . . is certainly one of the most beautiful and attractive which hath ever been practised in Tuscany, because it is noble, it doth not weary the mind, neither causeth it terror nor dread of any ill, but giveth great joy to them that look thereon. And it may be watched without fear, because they who play thereat use not weapons wherein lyeth danger, but their fists alone. Herein doth it differ from the Pisan game, wherein the *targhe* which are employed may occasion very grievous injury. . . . Neither doth our game demand great mental application like those of Florence and of Lucca, which are too studied, ordered and precise. . . . Nathless it is lively and spirited and needeth some skill, if only to know how to smite at the right moment; not to miss the mark nor to be taken unawares; to withdraw at the right time; to run wilily, so as to deceive the enemy, and to adopt other similar stratagems. . . . And the spectators, if well the game be used, may recognize therein the vivacious and cheerful disposition of our folk, who have ever been dowered with kindly and courteous manners; observing that,

[1] T. Livius, *Hist.*, i. 35. "Equi pugilesque ex Etruria maxime acciti."
[2] Tommasi, i. ii. 83.

if any man be badly smitten and beaten, he changeth not therefor his ancient friendship for his companion into hatred. And for this gentle spirit the Sienese were greatly praised by San Bernardino in his preachings. Moreover, it is a tradition among us that the Saint urged the citizens to play at the game of the Pugna; albeit, in his sermons, which are preserved in manuscript and which contain many wholesome teachings, there is naught to be found touching this matter. . . .[1] It cannot, however, be denied that our Brandano indirectly lauded the game when he spake and prophesied, saying, "Woe unto thee, Siena, when thou shalt no longer play the Pugna—*Guai a te, Siena, quando non farai più alla pugna.*' Yet, peradventure, this saying was put into his mouth by some one unto whom it seemed a thing impossible that this amusement should ever be abandoned by the Sienese, since it was beloved by them and suited to their tastes."[2]

However, in spite of all which the diarist has to tell us of the gentle and innocent nature of the game, it seems hardly to have been a drawing-room diversion, and, on more than one occasion, proved well nigh as sanguinary and violent as the Elmora.

Thus, in 1318 (old style), "the City being in peace and in tranquillity, the last Thursday of Carnival drew nigh; and all the people held high festival for love of Carnival. Wherefore, many gentlemen resolved to strip themselves and to play at the Pugna, the one part against the other. And when they had gotten them ready, they came into the Campo, with many stripped and with many companies. And when they were in the Campo the shopkeepers closed all the shops and went each of them to give assistance to his own party. And, company to company, they fought so fiercely that, on no wise, might either side obtain any

[1] These forty-five sermons, which were preached in the Piazza del Campo in 1427, were published a few years ago by LUCIANO BANCHI, under the title of *Le prediche volgari di San Bernardino da Siena dette nella Piazza del Campo l'anno MCCCCXXVII.* In vol. ii. p. 55, the following expression occurs: *Aitati e difendeti con darli de' pugni*, words which heard without the context, by an inattentive or sleepy listener, might possibly have given rise to the tradition above referred to. There is another, but metaphorical allusion to the Pugna, in vol. iii. p. 156.

[2] GIGLI, *Diario* (edition cited), ii. 484–486.

advantage over the other. And so greatly were their passions inflamed that no man was willing to hold his hand. Then began they to throw stones, and many heads were broken. And so many were the folk that ran thither with stones that it was a marvel to behold. Now, when he saw this, Otaviano della Branca da Gobio, the Potestà, and likewise the Signori Nove, commanded that every man should go to his own house or suffer such penalties as they should ordain. But their proclamation availed nothing; and ever the folk who brought stones increased, so that all men marvelled thereat, and especially those who stood looking on. Whereupon, the Potestà, fearing lest the City should rise in tumult, came forth with his attendants and strove to part the combatants and to send them every man to his own home. But they obeyed him not. Also they began to cast stones at him, so that the heads of some of his household were broken. Thereat was the Potestà exceeding wrath; and, if the night had not come, there would have befallen very great evil. Now all this battle befel at the foot of the Palazzo. And there were stones enough there to have sufficed for the building of half a house; and the bearing away of the said stones cost the Operaio del Comune eight lire. And all men marvelled to behold so many stones at the foot of the Palazzo, for it seemed as if it had rained stones there. And it is reported that, by reason of this battle of stones, ten persons died; but more than a hundred were wounded therein. And also thereby was excited great enmity. And on this wise, for that time, they played a fair game of Pugna, albeit, God wot, for many it was grievous."[1]

Although the magistrates do not appear to have interfered until they were compelled to do so, the whole game, *ab initio*, was clearly illegal; for the law provided that "no man should play at *pugni et boccate* (*boccate* being slaps given with the open hand, as opposed to *pugni*, fist blows) in any part of the city of Siena"; while, as recently as 1306, in order to remove any temptation to stone-throwing, even so innocent

[1] The above account is to be found in an anonymous chronicle in the Communal Library. Compare the *Frammento di una Cronachetta Senese* published by N. MENGOZZI and A. LISINI (Siena, Lazzeri, 1893), p. 24, and MALAVOLTI, parte ii. cta. 79.

a pastime as snowballing had been prohibited in the Campo.[1]

In 1324, "on the Sunday before Carnival, the same being the third day of February, a game of Pugna was played in Siena. Those of the Terzo of San Martino with those of the Terzo of Camollia numbered 600 each; and there came against them the Terzo di Città; whereby it befel that there was in the Piazza of Siena much folk stripped to their doublets, with caps of cloth upon their heads; and these were furnished with cheek-pieces which covered the cheeks and were worn for the protection of the face and head. Also they wrapped handkerchiefs about their hands, according to custom. And playing at the Pugna on this wise, the two Terzi cast out the Terzo di Città from the Campo; and they commenced to throw stones. Then certain persons took staves; and so they fought in the Campo. Thereafter, they armed themselves with shields and helmets and with lances and swords and spears; and so great was the uproar in the Campo that all the world seemed upside down for the multitude of folk that was therein. And all the soldiers of the Commune came armed into the Campo, and likewise the Potestà of Siena with his attendants. And the Signori Nove made proclamation that the battle should cease; but so great was the uproar that they took nothing thereby, nor could they separate the combatants. The Capitano della guerra with his folk and the Potestà of Siena thrust themselves between those that fought, but nothing could they do to stop the conflict. Then were slain certain horses of the soldiers, and thereafter died one of the soldiers also. And ever there came more people into the Campo by all the ways that led thereto, with cross-bows and with axes and with bills. And the battle ever increased; and neither the Signori nor any others that were there were able to remedy so great ruin. Wherefore the Bishop of Siena,[2] with the priests and friars of all the orders in Siena, came into the Campo in procession, bearing the cross before them; and they commenced to pass through the battle. . . . And at

[1] See extracts from the statutes, printed at the end of the chapter.

[2] Donusdei Malavolti.—See PECCI, *Storia del Vescovado della Città di Siena*, p. 267.

last, they who fought were separated by reason of the prayers of the said Bishop and of all the priests and friars. And so the battle ceased. And while yet the battle continued, or ever the Bishop had come, the Saracini and the Scotti cast many stones from their windows, on such wise that they who were struck thereby were minded to set fire to the houses of those folk on the side of the Campo. And a son of Ser Martino da Gallena slew a worker in wood (*un Maestro di manaja*) of the Terzo of San Martino; wherefore they of San Martino twice set fire to the shops. So that when the battle was done, it was seen that four men had been killed therein. Now therefore, when the tumult was over, the Signori Nove took counsel concerning the said battle and slaughter and arson. . . . And it was resolved that from henceforth they should play no more at the Pugna."[1]

Nevertheless, we may doubt if this resolution had anything more than a temporary effect. Among the *Novelle* of Gentile Sermini, who wrote about the year 1425, is to be found a vivid, but quite untranslatable description of the "Game of Fisticuffs." It is entitled "*Apre apre al giuoco delle pugna*," and it clearly demonstrates how dangerous was the character of the sport, even when the rules were observed and there was no stone-throwing. The following is a paraphrase of the concluding sentences:—

"Now let us go. To-morrow you will see lovely black eyes (*le belle occhiate*) and fine pale faces, and plenty of bandaged hands and arms, and plenty of missing teeth, to say nothing of those who have received internal injuries and whom we shall not see for several months from now. Of course it's no use talking of the bruised sides and sprained backs which we shall hear of for so many days, nor of those poor artisans who, being dependent for their livelihood upon the labour of their hands, will be prevented by their injuries from earning their daily bread. Look you, there is nothing to be gained by this game but blows and bruises; and though we too played it when we were younger, now we are well content to let those in whose veins the blood boils play

[1] AGNOLA DI TURA, MS. chronicle, quoted by GIGLI, *Diario*, ii. 488–489. Cf. TOMMASI, ii. lib. ix. p. 218.

it. If I am anything of a prophet, there will be half a dozen deaths or more, from the effects of to-day's sport, before Easter is here. Well, well, men must be born and men must die, and we can't help it; but if you want my opinion of the matter, I tell you that the lookers-on get two-thirds of the amusement which is to be found in such a game as this. The players get the other third, and in addition to that they have their bruised sides, their cut foreheads, their dislocated and broken bones, hands, arms, ribs and jaws."[1]

Allegretto Allegretti also mentions the Pugna, and records "un bellissimo giuoco" which was played on the 1st of March 1494;[2] while, when Charles V. visited Siena, in April 1536, a game of Pugna was played in his honour, which he watched from the window of the *Sala del Concistoro*, and "in which he took marvellous great delight."[3]

Another favourite pastime of the Sienese was the *Giuoco del Pallone*, which appears to have been sometimes played in connection with the Pugna. It was, I think, a species of football; the ball, or *pallone*, being thrown into the Piazza from the Torre del Mangia;[4] and if not identical with the Florentine *Calcio*, it certainly belonged to the same genus.[5] We, however, know but little about it; and, in Sozzini's account of the game which took place in 1555, during the last great siege, he speaks as if it were a common amusement in his day, and gives no particulars whatever as to the method of play.

On the 13th January, says he, "at midday, many Sienese youths met together in the Piazza del Campo; and, having stripped themselves to their doublets, they joined hands and danced, forming a circle so great that it filled more than

[1] *Le Novelle di Gentile Sermini da Siena ora per la prima volta raccolte e pubblicate nella loro integrità* (Livorno, Tip. F. Vigo, 1874), p. 109.

[2] *Diari Sanesi*, in MURATORI, *Rer. Italic. Script.*, xxiii., *ad annum*.

[3] See the last part of the *Historia* of TOMMASI (MS. in the Communal Library), and P. VIGO, *Carlo Quinto in Siena nell' Aprile del 1536, relazione di un contemporaneo* (Bologna, G. Romagnoli, 1884), pp. 43–45.

[4] C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[5] The *Calcio* was by no means confined to Florence. Compare L. FRATI, *La vita privata di Bologna*, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

half the Piazza.[1] Thereafter, two captains having been chosen, the said youths were by them divided into two equal parties; and they played a very beautiful game of Pallone for two hours or more. All those French gentlemen stood looking on; and they were amazed at our madness (*e stupivano delle nostre pazzie*), in that the same youths, who the very day before had done battle with the enemy, to-day played at Pallone.

"Now Bernino the cheesemonger, a valorous youth, had three days before made prisoner a Spanish gentleman, the same being a goodly man; and it was his whim to go and fetch him; and he caused him to strip to his doublet and to put on the *banda rossa*,[2] and to play at Pallone. And he was more admired than all the other players because he was swift of foot;[3] nor was there any man that could run as he did.

"When the game of Pallone was finished, the trumpets sounded, and each man went to his Terzo; and they played a fair game of Pugna, whereof Monsignor Montluc took so great pleasure that he well nigh wept for very joy, saying that never had he beheld more gallant youths than they. And there were those that answered him, saying: 'Bethink you how we shall encounter our enemies, when thus we do among ourselves who are friends.' And, when the game of the Pugna was ended, a voice was heard crying: *Alle guardie, alle guardie.* And anon they departed all from the Piazza to take their arms; and each man went to his appointed post."[4]

[1] "*Fecero un grandissimo ballo tondo che empiva più di mezza la Piazza.*"—In this *ballo tondo*, Miss OLCOTT (*Guide to Siena, op. cit.*, p. 211) finds a survival of the old *Rigoletto* or *Ridda*, "a sort of round dance, in which the dancers moved in a circle, hand in hand, singing." A representation of such a dance will be found in the Lorenzetti frescoes, in the Sala della Pace.

[2] Referring, as I suppose, to the colours worn by the opposing sides. See GIGLI, *Diario*, ii. 491; AQUARONE, *Dante in Siena* (Città di Castello, Tip. Lapi, 1889), p. 34. In MURATORI, *Rer. Italic. Script.*, xv. col. 96, note, we find mention made of *Bande da Terzi*. It may, however, be well to compare SOZZINI, *Diario*, p. 113, where it is stated that other prisoners, who had no thought of playing any game, were allowed to "andare a spasso per la Città con le loro *bande rosse*."

[3] *Era benissimo in gambe.* The expression will doubtless strike the reader as familiar. Compare p. 168 *supra*.

[4] A. SOZZINI, *Diario delle cose avvenute in Siena dai 20 Luglio 1550 ai 28 Agosto 1555*, pp. 353, 354.

Possibly the reader will share in the amazement of the French gentlemen who watched that game of Pallone, if he recalls the privations which the Sienese were suffering at the time, and remembers that, only the day before, the captains had been compelled to give the Sienese companies a few hours of repose "because they were utterly worn out by continual labour by day and also by night; which thing (adds the diarist) was passing grateful to the soldiers and more especially to me."[1] Perhaps, too, we may find in these facts the reason why, by comparison with those gaunt and war-wasted Sienese, the Spanish prisoner of Bernino, the cheesemonger, *era benissimo in gambe*, and why there was no man *che facesse li corsi che faceva lui*.[2]

Sigismondo Tizio tells us that Siena was founded under the influence of the second sign of the Zodiac, and that she owes thereto the affability and hospitality of her inhabitants, the beauty and allurement of her women, and, above all else, the love which her populace hath ever borne for festivals and games.[3] And, indeed, it was never possible for those old Sienese to remain depressed for long. Scarcely was the great siege at an end, than we find this strange people making merry because the Fonte Gaia, after having been dry for many months, was once more running water. *Ne fece festa ed allegrezza*, writes Sozzini; while, a few pages farther on, he relates how the entire city was moved to laughter by the waggery of certain Germans, who, being on guard in the Piazza, clothed with corselets and morions the marble saints which adorn the Cappella. That same August, the refugees in Montalcino commemorated the Assumption of Our Lady with all the accustomed pomp, and on the evening of the 15th, *si fece una caccia di tori nella Piazza grande da basso, avanti il Palazzo con gran letizia generale e giostre, livriere, balli e canti per tutta*

[1] A. SOZZINI, *Diario, etc.*, p. 352.—After Professor Douglas' masterly description of the siege of Siena (*op. cit.*, chap. xv.), it is obviously unnecessary for me to enter into details.

[2] Is it possible that he picked up the ball and ran with it? Compare, for a similar incident, *Memorie del Calcio Fiorentino*, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–43.

[3] BIBLIOTECA COM. DI SIENA, MS. B. iii. 6. *Titii Histor. Senens.*, tom. i.; RONDONI, *Tradizioni popolari e leggende di un comune medioevale e del suo contado* (Firenze, 1886), pp. 31–32. Compare TOMMASI, i. 55.

la terra.[1] A year or two later, the good Sienese, forgetful of their vanished liberty and of their friends and relatives who were still languishing in exile, celebrated the Carnival season with more than ordinary abandon, and "with so great familiarity and licence between the young men and women, that—as the Florentine Niccolini wrote to his master—the city appeared to be a kingdom of Venus.[2]

Of the other pastimes of the Sienese but little need be said in this place. The more ancient are enumerated by Falletti-Fossati in his *Costumi Senesi*; while, with regard to such of them as are intimately connected with the evolution of the Palio, I shall have something to say in the following chapter. Suffice it here to mention that from very early times we have record of tournaments being held in Siena. In a chronicle by an unknown author, preserved among the archives of the city, we read of *una nobile e bella giostra*, which was held in 1225, "in the great and beautiful meadow of the Porta Camollia." The victor was a certain Buonsignore of Arezzo; and he received "an exceeding swift horse, all clothed on with silk, together with armour of fine steel, befitting an approved and prudent warrior." The second prize was a helmet with the arms of the Commune; and the third a sword and steel gauntlets. All the other competitors were unhorsed.[3] Later on, it seems that tournaments were held in the Piazza; and it is obviously to this form of diversion that Folgare da San Gimignano refers in the sixth of his sonnets to the members of the *Brigata Spendereccia.*

> I give you horses for your games in May,
> And all of them well trained unto the course,
> Each docile, swift, erect, a goodly horse;
> With armour on their chests, and bells at play
> Between their brows, and pennons fair and gay,

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[1] See *Misc. Stor. Senese*, vol. iii. (1895), pp. 12, 13.

[2] The letter bears date the 23rd of February 1557, and is preserved in the Archives of Florence. (See *Misc. Stor. Senese*, vol. iii. pp. 42, 43.)

"Qui s' è fatto per l'universale un allegro Carnovale con molti parentadi, comedie et banchetti, non però di grande spesa, ma con tanta domestichezza et licentia di giovani con le donne che pare che sia il regno di Venere," etc.

[3] MURATORI, *Rer. Italic. Script.*, xv. 23, note; RONDONI, *Sena Vetus*, p. 70.

Fine nets, and housings meet for warriors
Emblazoned with the shields ye claim for yours,
Gules argent, or, all dizzy at noon day:
And spears shall split, and fruit go flying up
In merry interchange for wreaths that drop
From balconies and casements far above;
And tender damsels with young men and youths
Shall kiss together on the cheeks and mouths;
And every day be glad with joyful love.[1]

In 1392, a tournament was held in the Campo, in honour of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Count of Virtù; and there, according to Tizio, the youth of the Terzo di Città clad in red, those of San Martino in green, and of Camollia in white, gallantly jousted together.[2]

Solo aspettan che squilli la tromba
quei campioni nell' ampìo steccato:
d'ambo i lati già il suono rimbomba,
già le sbarre per essi cascâr.
Con le lance appuntate ai cimieri
e col volto dall' elmo celato
incitando co' sproni i corsieri
l'un sull' altro quei prodi piombâr.

In January 1416, a silver helmet was offered as a prize, and the Florentines were especially challenged to compete. The result was a drawn match, a Sienese and a Florentine having scored an equal number of points. The former thereupon generously relinquished his claim in favour of the foreigner.[3]

Other tournaments are said to have been held to celebrate the election of Enea Silvio Piccolomini to the Papacy, and on the occasion of the visit of Frederick III. to Siena.[4]

In 1503, the Festival of the Assumption was observed with especial pomp; and in addition to the Palio, there was a great jousting which lasted three days, "to the praise

[1] *Le Rime di Folgore da San Gemignano e di Cene da la Chitarra d'Arezzo* (Bologna, Romagnoli, 1880), *Sonetti de' Mesi, Maggio*, p. 13.

[2] ". . . Cydoniis indutis sericis, armisonos ludos, et hastiles celebrarunt; Ludentium ex regione Civitatis purpurei coloris vestes fuere, viridis S. Martini, albi vero Regionis Camolliæ, alia quoque exultationis signa, numquam amplius temporibus elapsis fuere celebrata."

[3] A. PROVEDI, *Relazione delle Pubbliche Feste date in Siena negli ultimi cinque Secoli, etc.* (In Siena, 1791), pp. 21–22.

[4] A. PROFESSIONE, *Per un Sonetto dell' Alfieri*, in the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, vol. vi. (1899), p. 379.

and honour of Almighty God and of the Virgin Mary, Advocate and Liege Lady of this City."[1] It may be noticed that among the *Tavolette dipinte*, in the Archivio di Stato, that of 1610 depicts a tournament in the Piazza del Campo.

NOTE

Extracts from the Sienese Statutes.

Constitutum Comunis Senensis 1262–1270.[2]
Dist. v. Rubric 33.

Et cum mala sequantur occasione lapidum, qui proiciuntur in Campo Fori pro pugna et aliis ludis, qui ibi fiunt annuatim, quod multi hòmines moriuntur, et tegule franguntur et domus, cogar ego potestas cogere homines civitatis Senarum non proicere lapidis in Campo Fori predicto, nec in domibus, que sunt circa Campum, cum pugne ibi fiunt; et qui contra fecerit, tollere tenear ego potestas ei pro qualibet vice .xl. sol. pro pena. Et cum fiunt ibi pugne, tenear ponere custodes ex utroque latere Campi, qui teneantur proiectores mihi denuntiare vel iudici vel camerario meo, quam citius poterunt. . Et proiectores rinvenire tenear modis omnibus, quibus potero: et dictam pugnam fieri non permittam ad .vi. annos, quod est .M°CC°LIII. indict. .xii. de mense Septembre, sine licentia et parabola duarum partium hominum de consilio campane.

Ibid. Rubric 191.

De predictis excipiantur minores .xiiii. annis [et] illi, qui currerent eques et predicta maleficia non committerent studiose, et illi, qui vulnerarent pro ludo et in bataglia, que fieret in Campo Fori, ut consuetum est, si fieret, et illi qui offenderent aliquem exbampnitum pro maleficio vel pro rebelle domini regis et populi Senensis.

[1] *Misc. Senese di erudizione Storica*, Anno VI., pp. 15–16.—The "Capitula jostre faciende," there printed, gives an excellent idea of the method of scoring. Thus we notice that if a combatant was unhorsed, he was compelled to withdraw from the lists; while he who had unhorsed him scored 10 points (*colpi dieci*) as well as all the points of him who w. overthrown.

[2] L. ZDEKAUER, *Il Frammento degli ultimi due libri del più antico Constituto Senese.*

Ibid. Rubric 194.

Item statuimus et ordinamus, ad hoc ut occasione battallie, que consuevit fieri in Campo Fori, non fiat aliquod maleficium, quod dicta battallia non fiat. Et Potestas et Capitaneus teneantur non facere fieri dictam battalliam.

Il Costituto del C. di S. volgarizzato nel MCCCIX–MCCCX.[1] *Dist. v. Rubrics* 55 *et seq.*

LV.—*Che neuno giuochi nel Campo con elmi o vero cestarelle.*

In prima, statuimo et ordiniamo che neuno de la città et contado di Siena, o vero altra persona undunque sia, possa o vero debia intrare nel Campo del mercato con elmo o vero cestarella, o vero scudo, o vero maza, o vero cuffia da armare, nè in alcuna parte de la città, o vero de' borghi, o vero presso a la città di Siena, per uno millio. Et chi contrafarà, cioè chi entrarà nel Campo del mercato con elmo, cestarella, scudo, o vero maza, o vero cuffia da armare, sia punito et condannato al comune di Siena, per ciascuna volta, in C. libre di denari senesi. Et chi combattarà o vero giocarà in alcuna altra parte de la città di Siena, o vero de' borghi, o vero di fuore de la città, o vero de' borghi, per uno millio, con elmo o vero cestarella, scudo, o vero maza, sia punito et condannato al comune di Siena per ciascuna volta, in L. libre di denari senesi. Et chiunque vista di combattere o vero di giocare farà con elmo, o vero cestarella, o vero scudo, o vero maza, in alcuna parte de la città o vero de' borghi, sia punito e condannato al comune di Siena, per ciascuna volta, in XXV. libre di denari senesi. Et intendasi di fare vista chi avarà elmo o vero cestarella in capo o vero in mano, o vero scudo in braccio o vero in mano, o vero cuffia da armare in capo o vero in mano, o vero avarà alcuna giubba, o vero coraze, o vero lammiere in dosso, o vero gamberuoli a le gambe, o vero cosciaroni a le cosce.

LVI.—*De la pena di chi gittasse pietre nel Campo del mercato.*

Anco, che neuno debia gittare pietra o vero pietre nel Campo del mercato o vero altrui, in alcuna parte de la città

[1] *Op. cit.*

di Siena o vero de' borghi, per cagione di giuoco o vero per altra cagione, in quello modo et forma che si fa al giuoco, quando si combatte nel Campo del mercato con l'elmora, o vero cestarelle. Et chi contrafarà, sia punito, per ciascuna volta, in XXV. libre di denari al comune di Siena.

LVII.—*Di chi giocasse a' pugni et boccate.*

Et, che neuno debia giocare a' pugni et boccate, in alcuna parte de la città di Siena o vero de' borghi; et chi contrafarà sia punito, per ciascuna volta, in X. libre di denari al comune di Siena. Et neuna persona ardisca giocare co la nieve, o vero nieve gittare, in alcuno modo o vero cagione, nel Campo del mercato, o vero in alcuna parte d' esso Campo, o vero sopra la selice del detto Campo. Et qualunque persona contrafarà sia punita et condannata per missere la podestà, per ciascuna volta, in X. libre di denari. Et ciascuno possa li contrafacenti accusare et denuntiare a la Corte di missere la podestà et abia la metià del bando. Et questa agionta, cioè: Et neuna persona ardisca etc. fatta è, Mcccvj. Inditione iiij, del mese di magio.

LIX.—*De la pena di chi percotesse alcuno al giuoco de l'elmora.*

Anco, che se alcuno percotarà alcuno nel Campo del mercato o vero altrui, 've si giocasse, contra la forma de li sopradetti ordinamenti, con maza o vero pietra, o vero elmo o vero in altro modo, sia punito de la percossione et ferita, secondo la forma del costoduto di Siena, non ostante alcuno capitolo di costoduto, et spetialmente el capitolo el quale comincia: De le predette cose excettiamo, etc.

LX.—*Che neuna dipentore dipenga alcuno elmo.*

Et, che neuno dipentore o vero scagiolaio o vero tavolacciaio, fabro, o vero ciascuno altro de la città di Siena, possa o vero debia fare dipegnere, acconciare o vero rifare o vero armare alcuno elmo o vero cestarella, o vero scudo, o vero maza acconcia al detto giuoco; et, se alcuno contrafarà, sia punito, per ciascuna volta et per ciascuno elmo o vero scudo, in X. libre di denari senesi al comune di Siena.

LXII.—*De la pena di chi dimandasse licentia, a la podestà, del giuoco de l'elmora.*

Anco, che neuna persona, di qualunque conditione et stato sia, debia . . . adimandare licentia di fare giuoco: et se alcuno contrafarà, per ciascuna volta, sia punita in XXV. libre di denari al comune di Siena.

LXIII.—*De la pena di chi facesse fare alcune rampogne a grido.*

Anco, che neuna persona debia nel Campo del mercato, far fare a grido alcune rampogne o vero vitoperi del detto giuoco et per cagione del detto giuoco; et se alcuno contrafarà, sia punito per ciascuna volta in X. libre di denari, al comune di Siena.

[See also *Rubrics LVIII., LXI., LXIV., LXV., LXVI.*, and *LXVII.*, which, although they add nothing to our knowledge of the game itself, suffice to prove how determined the Government was to leave no loophole for any evasion of the law.]

BOOK III

THE PALIO ALLA TONDA

CHAPTER THE FIRST

OF THE CONTRADE OF SIENA, AND HEREIN OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE PALIO

Cavalcare è l'arte nostra,
Ma vogliam la bestia nuda;
Perchè quando siamo a giostra
È più destra, e manco suda;
E s' ell' è di schiena cruda,
Regge meglio alle perosse.
Canto di giostranti a cavallo.

I

WE have now traced the evolution of Tuscan sport from the 13th century to the 16th, and have thus reached the point where the history of the modern Palio may be said to commence.

At this period, the old palii, although still nominally religious celebrations, had, no doubt, felt the effect of that deep and contemptuous aversion for the Church and its teachings which the Renaissance had implanted and fostered in the breasts of the upper and middle classes.[1] Moreover, the secularization of Sienese horse-racing had been, as we have seen, accompanied by a great increase in the value of the prizes offered, and this had undoubtedly tended to make it almost as much a rich man's sport as is horse-racing in England at the present day. The masses were mere spectators.

Meanwhile the tournament had been revived. During

[1] BURCKHARDT, *The Renaissance in Italy* (London, Kegan Paul & Co., 1878), vol. ii. p. 250.

the Communal era it had fallen into sad disrepute, and had become a laughing-stock and a farce, a pastime for cooks and kitchen-knaves,[1] mounted on dyers' hacks,[2] which were stimulated to strange activities by thistles thrust beneath their tails.[3] Now, however, in this age of petty princelings, it was once more in high favour. The Medici, in particular, displayed a real passion for the joust; and the combat in the lists offered a favourable opportunity for display of strength, skill and courage, in an epoch which laid especial stress upon personal merit.[4] At the same time, the old popular games had grown less ferocious. Between the *Giuoco delle pugna* of 1555, in which nobody was injured, or even, it seems, over-fatigued, and the sanguinary "battles" of two centuries and a half earlier, the difference was enormous.

Siena was about to become a part of the Duchy of Tuscany, to be intimately connected with the pageant-loving Florence, and to be ruled by princes whose main panacea for all the irritation which their oppressions caused was to be found in the Machiavellian prescription of *tenere occupati i popoli con feste e spettacoli*.[5] Thus, the modern Palio is, in its origin, a blending of the Pugna, the tournament and the horse-race, embellished and glorified by all the pomp and pageantry of the *Trionfo* and of the masquerade —a Sienese sport, it is true, but a Sienese sport which owes something also to the influence and example of neighbouring cities, and which, possessing, therefore, a more than local interest, may be fairly regarded as a survival of the old strenuous games which were played, during the Middle Ages, not in Siena alone, but in all the Communes of Central Italy.

[1] In the *Orlandino* of FOLENGO (ii. str. 7), speaking of a tournament of Charlemagne, it was felt necessary to state that, "qui non combattevano nè cuochi, nè guatteri, ma re, duchi e marchesi."

[2] Compare p. 10 *supra*.

[3] FRANCO SACCHETTI, *Nov.* 64.

[4] BURCKHARDT, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. part v. chap. i.—I have already pointed out that as the tournament was the military exercise of the nobility, so the old *Battaglie*—the *Mazzascudo* and the *Pugna*—were the natural military exercises of the People—the mechanics and artisans, who, in the days of the greatest civic freedom, formed the bulk of the Communal armies. As the foot-soldier became of less and less importance, the *Battaglie* naturally died out, being finally regarded merely as dangerous games, subversive of order and good government. The first tournament of which we have record in Siena, that of 1225, may be fairly regarded as a relic of feudalism; while that of 1392 heralded in the dominion of a despot.

[5] *Il Principe*, cap. 21.

The first Cosimo was no fool. He realized that his new subjects had been vanquished by famine and not by the sword of Marignano; that their love of freedom was as strong as ever, and that their loss of independence had only increased their hereditary hatred of Florence. His yoke they might bear, that of their detested and often worsted rival never. Indeed, the rule of the Medici would have been impossible had not Siena believed that while she was chastised with whips her old rivals were chastised with scorpions—a thought which lightened all her miseries and almost reconciled her to her fate. Cosimo took advantage of the fact that he had received Florence from the Empire and Siena from Spain. In his early edicts, he entitled himself Duke of Florence and of Siena, as if his dominion over the two cities was separate and diverse, and he left to the Sienese a separate administration, together with many of their old magistracies, and much of the outward form of republican government. In his policy of amusing the populace with spectacles and games, he found a convenient instrument in the *Contrade*, which, in Siena, played very much the same part as the *Signorie* or *Potenze festeggianti* filled in Florence; and as, one by one, their old institutions were abolished, the passionate patriotism of the Sienese, deprived of every other outlet, narrowed and intensified into a spirit of parochial partisanship, which, even to-day, retains much of its ancient fervour.

As to the origin and *raison d'être* of the Contrade, it has usually been presumed that they represent the divisions of the city which were made for military purposes; and this theory appears to be accepted by no less an authority than Professor Zdekauer, who, in his learned "Dissertation on the Statutes of the Commune of Siena up to the Compilation of 1262," identifies the Contrade with the ancient subdivisions of the *pedites* of the various Terzi, which were known by the name of *popoli*[1]—a position which, if it can

[1] See p. xxxxv of the *Dissertazione* which precedes the text of the *Constituto* of 1262 (edition cited), and especially note 2; and compare note 1, p. 36 *supra*. As to the subdivision of the Companies into *popoli*, it may be remarked that, in the middle of the 13th century,

be sustained, goes far towards proving the correctness of the statement of the chronicler Andrea Dei that the Sienese commenced *a far le compagnie per la città delle contrade* in the year 1209.

Before the great pestilence of 1348, there are said to have been at least sixty contrade; while, in the first quarter of the 18th century, they still numbered forty-two.[1]

Other writers, however, reject entirely the idea of any connection between the Contrade and the ancient military companies, declaring that the former are a product of the 15th century, and were, in their inception, practically what they are to-day, *i.e.* associations formed for the purpose of assisting at the public festivals of the city, and of increasing their splendour and popularity.[2]

In support of this view, it is pointed out that the two earliest records which we have of the Contrade are assignable respectively to the years 1482 and 1494,[3] and have reference, the one to a Palió run in honour of St Mary Magdalene,[4] and the other to *un bellissimo giuoco delle pugna*, which was played on Carnival Sunday, in the Piazza del Campo.[5] Moreover, it is noticeable that even so voluminous a writer as Sigismondo Tizio makes no mention whatever of the Contrade—a circumstance from which no other deduction

the Terzo di S. Martino and the Terzo di Città contained 12 *popoli* each, while the Terzo di Camollia had only 11.

[1] *Relazione distinta delle quarantadue Contrade solite far comparsa agli spettacoli, nelle quali militarmente vien distribuito tutto il Popolo di Siena*, dedicata dall' Autore alle Contrade della Chiocciola (Siena, nella Stamp. dell' A. R. della Sereniss. Gran Principessa Gov. presso Francesco Quinza, 1723). It is a rare pamphlet of 55 pages, in which is discussed the origin of the city, its division into Terzi and Sestieri, the origin of the Contrade, and the various games in which they took part. See especially pp. 7 and 10.

[2] A. LISINI in the *Misc. Stor. Senese*, vol. i. (1893), pp. 26–27; vol. iv. (1896), pp. 67–69.

[3] In order to sustain this assertion, such passages as the following have to be explained: "Missere Piero fratello de' re Ruberto vene in Siena mezedima quatordici dì d'agosto, la viglia di santa Maria d'aghosto, e ricievete el magiore onore che fuse mai fato a signiore; . . . e tute le chontrade balaro con tortizi e con dopieri e andavano a rendagli onore al deto alberghò."—*Frammento di una Cronachetta Senese d'Anonimo del Secolo XIV*, published by N. MENGOZZI and A. LISINI (Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1893), p. 11.—The learned editors define *chontrade* as *l'insieme degli abitanti di una medesima via*—a definition which hardly differs from the meaning of the word as used in the *Relazione*.

[4] The document referred to is a loose sheet of paper placed within the *Libro di Biccherna* of 1482. The Contrade mentioned therein are those of the GIRAFFA and the CHIOCCIOLA.

[5] ALLEGRETTO ALLEGRETTI, in MURATORI, *Rer. Italic. Script.*, xxiii. 840. The Contrade mentioned are the GIRAFFA, the DRAGO, the CHIOCCIOLA and the ONDA.

appears to be possible than that in his day they were institutions of very little importance; while we are still more inclined to admit that this must have been the case when we find that later on, in the 16th and 17th centuries, public documents and contemporary chronicles, alike, abound with references to jousts, bull-fights, pugna, and races both of horses and of buffalo, in which the Contrade intervened with their proper *comparse* and ensigns.

Neither should the fact be overlooked that, for some time after the Contrade had assumed their modern form, the military companies continued to exist as distinct and separate bodies, the officials, organization and banners of the former being entirely different from those of the latter, who still acknowledged their subordination to the three Gonfalonieri of the Terzi, and looked to the Capitano di Popolo as their supreme head. Finally, it is argued that it is quite impossible that the origin of the Contrade can be traced back to the military companies, because, by the statutes of those companies, as reorganized in 1310, it was expressly provided *quod nullus de civitate Senarum vel burgis, faciat sotietatem cum aliquibus personis pro ridda vel ballis seu corteis faciendis. Et quod aliqui de civitate Senarum vel burgis non induant se de novo de aliquo panno neque ad modum Scotobrini*[1] *neque ad alium modum alterius ludi vel forge, et quod ballando vel riddando vel aliquo modo ludendo, non vadant per civitatem Senarum vel burgos*, under a penalty of 25 lire.[2]

However this may be—and the question is by no means as yet settled—for the last four hundred years, the Contrade have been a distinctive feature in Sienese life, the like of which is not to be found in any other Italian city.

In the 16th century, when the Contrade began to take a prominent part in the promotion and management of the public festivals, the *Caccia de' tori* seems to have been a

[1] A *Scotobrinus* is a buffoon.—Compare p. 79, note 2, *supra*.

[2] The enactment quoted is from the *Statuto del Capitano di Popolo* of 1310, at cta. 26. —The argument does not appear to me to be altogether convincing. I give it for what it is worth.

favourite Italian diversion, and one to which the youth of Siena were especially addicted.[1]

The Contrade were wont to enter the Piazza clad in the most gorgeous costumes, each leading its own bull, and accompanied by huge *macchine*, made of wood, which as a rule represented gigantic birds or beasts, but were, in fact, miniature fortresses wherein those who took part in the game might seek refuge from the infuriated animals. Each Contrada was naturally desirous of outdoing its rivals, not only in the dexterity and courage of its players, but also in the sumptuousness of its *livrea* and equipments; and since these *macchine* often cost considerable sums, two or more neighbouring Contrade sometimes combined together for the purpose of appearing with one *macchina* of extraordinary magnificence; and thus, their partnership being continued for several years, became, in fact, a single contrada, adopting the name of the animal which had been represented by their joint *macchina*;[2]—a state of things which seems to account very satisfactorily for the nomenclature and banners of the modern Contrade.

These, it may be mentioned once for all, are seventeen in number, namely:—Tartuca, Chiocciola, Selva, Aquila, Onda, Pantera, Val di Montone, Torre, Leocorno, Civetta, Nicchio, Drago, Oca, Giraffa, Bruco, Lupa and Istrice.

For the Carnival of 1513 the citizens and the students of the University competed in a *Caccia di tori*, at which the Contrade intervened with their *macchine*.[3]

In 1516 the Feast of the Assumption was celebrated by a bull-fight, and the victorious Contrade hung the limbs and entrails of the slaughtered animals to their *macchine* in sign

[1] "A Siena c' è la guardia co' bravi, lo studio co' dottori, fonte Branda, fonte Becci, la piazza co' gli uomini, la festa di mezzo Agosto, i carri co' ceri, co' becchetti, i pispinelli, *la caccia dei tori*, il palio, et i biricuocoli a centinaja co' marzapani da Siena."—PIETRO ARETINO, *La Cortigiana*, act i. scene i.

[2] *Relazione distinta delle quarantadue Contrade, etc., op. cit.*, pp. 16–45. It will be remembered that this work is dedicated by the author, not to the Contrada della Chiocciola, but to the Contrade della Chiocciola; for the reason that (as he explains on pp. 20 and 21) three contrade combined to appear with *una Macchina in modo di Chiocciola*. Compare also A. PROVEDI, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[3] FLAMINIO ROSSI, *Le Contrade della Città di Siena*, MS. in the Communal Library, cited by A. PROFESSIONE, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

of triumph. The next day a Palio was run, and, on the 17th, a combat was fought with lances and pikes, after the manner of a tourney, two rich prizes being presented to the winners.[1]

Among the most memorable *Caccie* was that of August 15th, 1546, which is described at length by Provedi.[2] "Near the fountain of the Piazza," he says, "was prepared a great enclosure, made of ilexes like a wood, for a park for the wild beasts; and therein were put hares, foxes, porcupines, badgers, stags, wild boars, bulls and a bear. At some distance therefrom, round about the Piazza, was a strong palisade, with seats for the spectators, while, behind them, all the windows, balconies and roofs of the houses were decked with tapestries and gala trappings, forming a vast and splendid amphitheatre. Near the public Palace was reared a beautiful structure, adorned with figures of men and women, celebrated in fable and in history, who were remembered for their ill-directed courage, in that they had slain themselves with their own hands, and from whose wounds gushed forth constant streams of water. In the midst of the great Piazza stood a table whereon were set food and wine for the combatants, who, in the battle which they fought with their swords alone against the wild beasts, were compelled always to keep one hand upon the table, under pain of losing all hope of the prize.

"Now when the Signoria had dined, and had come forth upon the balcony, a signal was given by the trumpeters who were stationed upon the battlements of the Palace, and forthwith three richly bedecked cars appeared in the great Piazza. In the first was Our Lady ascended into Heaven, surrounded by little angels who came leaping down from above, moved by hidden mechanism. On the second was a God the Father, with many fair adornments; and the third was full of Prophets and of Sibyls.[3]

"These were followed by a very great quantity of trumpeters, together with the banner of the Selva, which in all such pageants connected with hunting (*spettacoli di caccie*)

[1] PECCI, *Memorie storico-critiche della Città di Siena*, parte ii. p. 57.

[2] PROVEDI, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–55.

[3] The Sibyls take their place beside the Prophets as forerunners of Christ. (See Mr. R. H. HOBART CUST'S *Pavement Masters of Siena*, p. 32; and D'ANCONA, *Origini, etc., op. cit.*, in Index, s.v. "Sibille.")

took precedence. Thereafter came more than 150 mules, with loads fashioned to represent animals slain in the chase, and adorned with branches. Mingled with these were little lads and men, naked save only for a covering of feathers, playing upon tabors and whistling about Cecco Bau;[1] and ever they cast bread to the populace. When they had made the circuit of the Piazza they gat them thence, departing on the opposite side to that by which they had come. Finally, the Contrade appeared, waving their banners.

"The first Contrada was the Bruco, whereof the *comparsa* had for livery black garments with white stripes; while its chief hunter (*capocaccia*) rode on horseback, clothed on with blue satin embroidered with gold, and attended by four footmen clad in white.

"Next marched the Contrada della Lupa, in white liveries, with swords and bucklers, and wearing gilded morions upon their heads. Their banner was yellow and green, and their Capocaccia was clad in crimson, trimmed with gold and adorned with pearls and jewels.

"Then came the Contrada del Drago, its folk clad in yellow satin faced with green taffeta, and its Capocaccia in crimson bordered and lined with cloth of gold. Its banner was all yellow with a dragon in the midst thereof. Therewith was a car drawn by divers nymphs, and on it was a dragon which vomited fire from his mouth.

"This was followed by the *macchina* of the Giraffa, accompanied by a numerous *comparsa* in liveries of blue cloth, with halberds, and with caps upon their heads, together with their Capocaccia clad in crimson embroidered with gold, with hose of crimson velvet, with gold lace, and with linings of cloth of silver. Their banner was blue and red in stripes.

[1] The fringe of most men's knowledge verges upon crass ignorance; and I am painfully aware that, n endeavouring to explain who or what Cecco Bau was, I am more than likely to prove a blind leader of the blind. I find that the word *Bau* is thus defined by the Della Cruscans: *Voce usata per far paura a' bambini, quasi significhi una cosa terribile*; while in the *Malmantile riacquistato* of LORENZO LIPPI, we read:

Ove la notte al noce eran concorse
Tutte le streghe anch' esse sul caprone,
I diavoli col *bau*, le biliorse
A ballare, e cantare, e far tempone.

Should we then be far wrong if we take Cecco Bau to be an Ogre or Bogy?

"The *macchina* of the Istrice came next, accompanied by its inhabitants in purple and yellow, with caps of the same colour upon their heads, led by a Capocaccia in crimson velvet with hose of purple velvet. . . .

"Followed the Civetta, whereof the *comparsa* was in rustic garb of purple cloth, to wit, shoes and breeches, the sleeves of their shirts wound about with bands, and red wagoners' frocks tied with yellow ribbons. On their heads they wore caps crowned with white plumes and in their hands they carried olive boughs. Their Capocaccia was dressed in black satin, splendidly adorned with pearls and gold, and on his head a cap sewn with pearls and jewels. He was preceded by a youth, richly clad, and carrying a silver vase whereon sat a live owl. The *macchina* represented Minerva; and the banner was red, blue and white."

It were over long to follow our author through his detailed description of the *comparse* of all the Contrade, each clad in richer *livrèa* than its neighbour. Suffice it then to say that the *macchina* of the Leofante (the modern Torre) was in the form of an elephant with a tower on its back, whereon were trumpeters blowing on their trumpets, in the midst of fireworks. The *macchina* of the Leocorno represented a unicorn, that of the Oca a goose, and that of the Chiocciola a snail. The *comparsa* of the Onda seems to have been especially elaborate, its members being dressed as shepherds, part of whom were on foot, while the rest were mounted and accompanied by nymphs on horseback. There too was to be seen Actæon changed into a stag, and many other nymphs, crowned with flowers and with leaves, who danced about a car in which was Diana with more nymphs and with a little bound Cupid. Ever, as they advanced to the sound of musical instruments, they scattered flowers and copies of verses (*composizioni*) among the spectators. They were followed by two Moors richly apparelled and riding upon cows.

As the Selva had led the procession, so, in like manner, did it close it "per privilegio della caccia." Its *macchina* was "very lofty and represented a rhinoceros."

It is interesting to note that the colours and banners of the Contrade, as here described by Provedi, are almost invariably different to those of modern times. The animals which were then represented in the *macchine* have now become the devices of the banners.

"Now, when all this fair and numerous company had entered the Piazza—the *comparsa* of each Contrada numbering over a hundred persons—they made several circuits of the same. Thereafter, all the Contrade went to their appointed places, which were marked out by enclosures made of branches (*steccati contornati di' frasche*); thus forming a passing brilliant and rich display, like unto a laughing garden gay with flowers. Next, to the sound of trumpets and of drums, was added that of bugles and other instruments of the chase; whereupon, hares, foxes and other little animals, pursued by hounds, were seen to issue forth from the park of the wild beasts. Of the incidents of that hunting I will not speak; neither will I describe the cunning of the foxes or the swiftness of the roe-bucks and the deer, which caused much mirth, and sometimes terror also, to the spectators, by reason of the leaps which they made over the palisades, and which afforded diversion for the space of more than half an hour. Merely will I mention, in passing, that a buffalo caused much trouble to the hunters who ate at the table, because, after they had divers times provoked him, he made such an onslaught on one end thereof that the splinters flew in all directions; while another bull, having attacked a swordsman with his horns, caused him to make a not too graceful passage through the air. Great was the audacity of a certain Moretto, who leaped upon the back of a ferocious bull which deafened the air with its bellowings, and which he rode and slew, ere he was cast to earth. Finally, after many bulls had shown themselves but little minded to do battle, there issued forth one which seemed a very Diomede of bulls. Like a thunderbolt he rushed upon the hunters, increasing ever in fury, and raging ever more and more against those who dared to offend him. Nevertheless, a certain Meo delle Baie fired a couple of charges at him, hard by the *gavina*, and then, having retired into the

BULL FIGHT IN THE PIAZZA DEL CAMPO

FROM AN OLD PICTURE

gavina,[1] undertook to irritate him with two puppets, made of straw and dressed in red. Scarcely had the Buffalo seen the puppets than he charged them, and, in a moment, became entangled in the nets. By a tremendous effort he broke loose and rushed at his insulter, who would have paid dearly for his joke, had he not been saved by the narrow opening of the *gavina*. The ferocity of so terrible an animal, which lacked but little of emptying the Piazza, compelled the hunters to sound a general attack and to assail him upon every side. Thus only did they finally send him to Charon, and not before many of them had been tossed in the air, to say nothing of the smashing of a cask and of the table. A little buffalo, with his hide stuck full of fireworks, caused long and hearty laughter; and his death, which was not inglorious, put an end to the hunting."

The next day there was a dance in the Piazza, followed by games of Pallone and of Pugna; after which the players betook themselves to the Cathedral, to render thanks to Most High God for so enjoyable a festival—*di una giornata sì bella*.[2]

The *Caccia de' tori* flourished in Siena for more than a century, and then, having been forbidden by the Council of Trent as too perilous, was finally suppressed in 1590 by an edict of the Grand Duke Ferdinand I.[3] But those good Sienese, after so many centuries of Pugna, Elmora and bull-fighting, could not settle down to any sport which did not possess at least a spice of danger, and races on buffalo-back became the fashion.

> Colla bufola siamo
> Usciti, Donne, questo giorno fuori;
> Perchè fra gli altri onori,
> Correndo al palio, ancor vincer vogliamo.

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[1] Compare SOZZINI, *Diario cit.*, p. 85, where "la gavina di piazza" is spoken of. According to Gaetano Milanesi, the word is derived from the Latin *cavea*, and, in the Sienese dialect, means a subterranean conduit for rain or other water.

[2] See for another account of this *Caccia de' tori*, "La magnifica ed onorata festa fatta in Siena per la Madonna d'Agosto, l'anno 1546. Lettera di Cecchino Cartaio a Madonna Gentile Tantucci," *op. cit.*; and compare p. 91, note 4, *supra*.

[3] See *Misc. Stor. Senese*, vol. i. (1893), p. 12.

[4] ANTONFRANCESCO GRAZZINI, *Canto d' uomini che andavano a correre il palio colla bufola*, in *Tutti i Trionfi, Carri, Mascherate, etc., op. cit.*, p. 464.—Grazzini, better known by his nickname of Il Lasca, died in 1583; but, long before that date, races on buffalo-back

The course was three times round the Piazza; sometimes, perhaps, all the Contrade entered for the race; and the regulations which were made with regard to buffalo, which had broken through the barriers, being brought back to the track at the same spot at which they had left it,[1] seem to imply possibilities which must have been extremely unpleasant for nervous spectators.

Occasionally, and more especially in the Carnival season, the *Bufalate* were superseded by *Asinate*, a species of entertainment which was, I believe, described for the first time by Signor Cav. Alessandro Lisini, in the *Miscellanea Storica Senese*, of May 1896.[2]

"These *Asinate* (says he) were, in fact, merely a variation of the ancient *giuoco delle pugna*, being, in all essential respects, nothing more nor less than fist fights. As a rule, they were promoted by one of the Contrade; and the promoters, of course, made themselves responsible for the cost of the prizes.

"On the day appointed for the spectacle, those Contrade which desired to compete—to the number of not less than six, nor more than ten—entered the Piazza in a body, with their banners displayed and with their Capitani and Alfieri, or, as it was then expressed, with their *Sargentina*. Each of them was followed by a band of thirty *pugillatori*; and they brought with them an ass, bare-backed and without any trappings whatever, but painted all over, instead, with the colours displayed by the Contrada.

"The *pugillatori* were lightly clad, and with caps upon their heads; their doublets and hose being of various colours, according to the livery of the particular Contrada to which they belonged. They were not permitted to carry weapons of any sort; consequently staves and whips and even the wearing of finger-rings were strictly prohibited, under a penalty of fifty scudi in gold, accompanied by the administration of the strappado—*due buoni tratti di corda*. The rope

had been common. The abolition of bull-fighting merely brought them into greater prominence. For some verses celebrating a *bufalata* of August 1584, see A. PROFESSIONE, *Per un Sonetto dell' Alfieri, loc. cit.*, p. 382.

[1] *Misc. Stor. Senese*, vol. iv. (1896), pp. 54–56. [2] Pp. 70–71.

to be used for that purpose was always in evidence upon such occasions, as a tacit admonition not only to the players, but also to such of the spectators as might feel disposed to infringe the regulations laid down for the seemly observance of the festival. Thus was justice rendered both speedy and efficacious.

"The various companies made the circuit of the Piazza, displaying their banners, throwing them aloft and catching them, as is done at a modern Palio. Thereafter, at a given signal, each Contrada deposited its flag in a position assigned to it by lot, and then the Capitani and Alfieri retired, together with the rest of the spectators, into the centre of the Piazza, which was surrounded for the occasion by a palisade. Each group took up its position opposite to its own banner; and thus a circular track was left clear for the players.

"A second signal was given; the asses were led to the starting post, while the players disposed themselves at their pleasure around the Piazza or behind their own animals, taking up such positions as appeared to them most likely to conduce to victory in the impending struggle; and then commenced the race, if race it can be called.

"A third signal, and those unfortunate asses were taken by storm. The whole body of *pugillatori* flung themselves upon them, all endeavouring to mount at once—these trying to thrust them onward, those to drag them back. And so the opposing parties swayed now this way and now that, fought and rolled on the ground, and showered blows upon one another's heads and bodies, amid the deafening yells, hisses and applause of the spectators. Rarely did a player succeed in keeping his seat for more than a few paces before he was hurled to the ground, and this in spite of a regulation which existed against soaping the animals. Sometimes a hostile company succeeded in surrounding ass and rider alike, and in carrying them bodily out of the Piazza—thus excluding them from further participation in the contest, unless both the ass and his rider should succeed in re-entering at precisely the same spot as they went out.

"The animal to which the prize was awarded was that one which had first made two complete circuits of the Piazza,

in the midst of all this confusion and tumult; and if the *pugillatori* reissued from the contest bruised and bleeding, the pitiable condition of those wretched asses can well be imagined. The game, which often lasted nearly an hour, being over, the winning Contrada received 40 scudi; while an additional 20 scudi was disbursed as prize-money among the members of the victorious team."[1]

Meanwhile, throughout the 16th century, the Caccie de' tori, the Bufalate and the Asinate were frequently varied by horse-races; and, in the summer of 1581, in particular, the Contrade vied with one another in running palii of every description.

In that year, on the occasion of "a Palio which is run by ancient custom on the day of San Bernardino," a number of accidents occurred, which left the real merits of the horses contending therein quite an open question. Thereupon, a new race was organized, and a new palio offered by one of the Contrade, to which was added a prize *a chi usciva con più bella inventione.* "And there (writes Federigo of the Counts of Montauto, Governor of Siena) were seen divers fantastic devices, whereby was born a friendly emulation among all the other Contrade, so that there were but few that desired not to promote the running of a separate palio, some with horses, and some with mares, and some with mules taken from under (*levate di sotto*) the foremost doctors and principal ecclesiastics of the city, and others, yet again, with buffalo, in imitation of the ancient Roman custom. And there remains not any fable or history which hath not been represented in some form, accompanied ever with beautiful music and ingenious compositions. . . . Moreover, there prevaileth extraordinary and universal gaiety, so that, after the races be over,

[1] It may be remarked in passing, that the *Asinate* did not altogether supplant the *giuoco delle pugna* in the affections of the Sienese; and, indeed, it seems that the old game continued to be played by the students of the University as late as the first quarter of the 19th century. For this information I am indebted to my friend Professor Pietro Rossi, who very kindly called my attention to the manuscript *Diario* of BANDINI, in the Communal Library—a document which contains numerous notices of attempts made by the students to play at the Pugna between 1785 and 1816—attempts which, for the most part, were promptly suppressed by the authorities. See also N. MENGOZZI, *Il Monte dei Paschi da Siena e le aziende in esso reunite* (Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1891–1900). Index to vols. v., vi., under the title: "*Giuoco delle Pugna o del Pallone.*"

the victors go in triumph through the city, visiting the most ancient Contrade, and holding almost open house—*tenendo quasi corte bandita de vini e tavolacci.*"

Nor, in the midst of all this revelry and riot, were the poor and needy forgotten. Young maidens were lavishly dowered, and prisoners were set free, their debts being paid by the Contrade.

However, the sensation of the year was afforded by a race run on the 15th of August for *un palio superbo di broccato, che superi il valor di tutti gli altri*, and which was presented by the Contrada dell' Aquila; for, on that occasion, the horse of the Contrada del Drago was ridden by a peasant girl named Virginia.

So novel and unexpected an event almost produced a revolution in Siena. Not a few youths became enamoured of the fair *contadinella*, and the Governor himself, albeit jestingly, professed to have been smitten by her charms, remarking, in allusion to her suitors, that he doubted not that she was capable not only of managing old race-horses, but also of breaking young and unruly colts. In her honour, an anonymous poetess composed certain verses, which were published in 1581, "*alla loggia del Papa*," in a little book which also contained divers other rhymes relative to the festivities of the year. In those verses it is declared that

> Tal fu dell' ardir suo, del senno il saggio
> Che almo diletto niun porse e stupore
> Maggior non si potea mostrar coraggio
> Di Lei, destrezza nè mostrar maggiore.
> . . . . . .
> Come gli occhi in Lei sola fisi e intenti
> Fur de la moltitudine infinita,
> Così haven tutti i cuori anco le menti
> (Tanto la sua virtute era gradita)
> Rivolte al Ciel con caldi preghi ardenti
> Perchè salva rendesse a Lei la vita
> Et nel corso portando al fin vittoria
> N'allegrasse di tal novella gloria.

This, however, was not to be. "For *la più bella invenzione* the Contrada del Drago received *una collana di scudi 40 o più.* A silver cup of the value of about 20 scudi, the prize for *la più bella livrea* was carried off by the Contrada del

Montone; and lastly, the palio itself went to the Onda." But the *contadinella*, although she did not win the race, was presented by the Governor with a fine horse, which was probably about as acceptable a gift as he could have chosen for that *vergin nudrita in aspri boschi.*[1]

It is to be observed that none of these races were run in the Piazza, but probably, in most cases, over the same course as continued to be used for the Palio of the 15th of August, up to the time of its abolition. And, in this connection, it is well to recall the fact that, neither in the 16th century nor afterwards, had the Contrade anything whatever to do with the promotion or management of those ancient palii which were run annually on the festivals of St Mary of Mid-August, of San Pietro Alessandrino, of St Mary Magdalene and of Sant' Ambrogio Sansedoni. These were under the exclusive control of the Commune, and were what in modern parlance we should call open events, entries being accepted from all parts of Italy.[2]

The earliest notice which we have of a horse-race in the Piazza is attributable to the year 1605, when it was proposed to measure the course over which the Palio of Mid-August was ordinarily run, *dalla Chiesa degli Angeli, sotto porta Romana, dove si dà la mossa, sino alla colonna del Duomo, fine del corso*, and to ascertain how many circuits of the Piazza it would be necessary to make to cover the same distance.[3] This project seems to have been duly carried out, but it would be a mistake to suppose that the race thus run had any connection with the modern Palio, since it was not until after the abandonment of the Bufalate, about the middle of the 17th century, that the Contrade inaugurated the contests which we see to-day. And these, if we ignore their religious

[1] See two letters from Federigo delli Conti da Montauto, Governor of Siena, to Antonio Serguidi, the Grand-ducal secretary, preserved in the R. Archivio di Firenze, Filza Medicea, n. 1875 (carteggi di Siena). They are printed by CARLO CARNESECCHI, in the *Misc. Storica Senese*, vol. ii. (1894), pp. 72–75. Compare also C. MARZOCCHI, *Nel Secolo XVI la fanciulla Virginia nella piazza del Campo di Siena giostrando con grande maestria riportava la vittoria di un Palio sul cavallo della Contrada del Drago* (Siena, Nava, 1883). It is a pamphlet of 27 pages, not altogether to be relied upon in all its statements, as may be inferred from the title, since neither was the Palio run in the Piazza, nor was it won by Virginia.

[2] See p. 87 *supra*.

[3] *Misc. Stor. Senese*, vol. iv. (1896), pp. 71–72.

aspect, are much more closely connected with the Pugna and the Asinate than they are with the ancient palii.

II

Heretofore the spectacles and games promoted by the Contrade had been almost entirely secular; and although their palii, their bull-fights and their bufalate were often held on the 15th of August and on other festivals recognized by the Church, this was rather due to the fact that those days were public holidays than to any special reverence for their sacred character. Now, however, a series of calamities was about to arouse the often dormant but always easily awakened religious fervour of the Sienese, and the *Palio alla tonda* was destined, like the *Palio alla lunga*, to have a distinct and definite connection with a great religious festa.

The short-sighted policy of Francesco I. had greatly impoverished Tuscany. Industry and commerce declined, and the high taxes on corn, which had rendered its cultivation unprofitable, completed the work which the devastations of Marignano had commenced, and converted the Maremma into a desert. Nor were all the efforts of his successor effectual to undo the harm which Francesco had done. Towards the end of the century, Siena was afflicted by a very grievous famine, which was followed by a pestilence; and, in 1594, the people rendered almost desperate by their prolonged sufferings, resolved, as their fathers had done before them, to implore help of the ever pitiful Mother of God.

They naturally desired to make their vows and supplications to the same *Advocata Senensium* whose intercessions had so often availed to save their city in the days of the Republic; but this, to the great scandal and grief of all pious folk, proved to be practically impossible, by reason of the furious contest then raging between Monsignor Ascanio Piccolomini, Archbishop of Siena, and the historian Giugurta Tommasi, at that time Rector of the Opera del Duomo. And thus it came to pass that, while peace was banished from the sacred walls of the Holy Sienese Church, the people flocked to prostrate themselves before Our Lady of Pro-

venzano, an image which stood between two windows of a humble dwelling in the Via de' Provenzani di sotto, and which had already acquired a certain reputation for working miracles.[1]

And now, on the 1st of July, the Vigil of the Feast of the Visitation, while workmen were engaged in decorating her shrine, she once more displayed her power.

Seated in the same street was a certain Giulia di Orazio, a woman of notoriously evil life, who was tormented by an incurable malady. She, beholding these preparations, commenced to scoff at those who made them, and at the Blessed Virgin. That same evening, about dusk, she felt herself compelled by some mysterious force to go and kneel before the sacred image, beseeching pardon and health. On the following day, she returned once more to offer up the same petitions, and, a few hours later, was made perfectly whole; and when her doctor arrived, as was his wont, to treat the sore produced by her illness, and removed the bandages which covered it, he found, to his amazement, that every trace of disease had entirely disappeared.

The woman hastened forth to offer praise and thanksgiving for the mercy vouchsafed, narrating with emotion, to all those who stood by, the great salvation which had been wrought on her behalf. The tale passed from mouth to mouth, and, ere night fell, the whole population thronged to the Contrada di Provenzano to pray to the miraculous Madonna.

For the rest, I am not concerned to speak of the infinite number of votive offerings and oblations which poured into that humble dwelling; varying, as they did, from the silver-gilt goblet sent by the Prince of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia to a straw hat *con trina turchina e oro con un fiore*; from a pair of buffalo to a load of charcoal.[2] Nor

[1] Of the history of this image I have already spoken in my *Our Lady of August and the Palio of Siena*, chap. v.—For a fuller account, see F. BANDINI PICCOLOMINI, *La Madonna di Provenzano e le origini della sua chiesa* (Siena, 1895), pp. 41 *seq.*

A representation of the house where it stood—the *Casa de' Miracoli*, as it was afterwards called—may be seen in the *Tavoletta di Biccherna* of 1594. It depicts the visit of the Signoria to the wonder-working Madonna.

[2] ARCH. DELL' OPERA DI PROVENZANO, *Libro delle Oblazioni*, commenced 12th July 1594; F. BANDINI-PICCOLOMINI, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

is it necessary, in this place, to detail the steps taken to construct a fitting temple for the reception of the wonder-working Madonna. Suffice it to state that the Church of Santa Maria di Provenzano, commenced in the autumn of 1595, was completed sixteen years later, and that, on the 23rd of October 1611, the sacred image was transferred thither with all due pomp, the Grand Duke Cosimo II. himself being present at the ceremony.[1]

Thus, from the beginning of the 17th century, the Feast of Our Lady of Provenzano became well nigh the principal holiday of the Sienese year. It was celebrated on the 2nd of July, the day of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin; and, on the evening of the festival, a display of fireworks was wont to be given in the Piazza di Provenzano in front of the newly constructed church. The neighbourhood, however, was none of the best. Writers of the 16th century tell us that the few respectable people who lived there were compelled to keep their windows closely shuttered, that they might not hear or see the execrable and shameful things that were done therein; and if a man did an ill deed, it was usual to say, *Staresti bene in Provenzano*, or *Tu sei stato in Provenzano.* Thus the celebrated prophecy of Brandano — *Siena vedrai tutte le tue donne andare a Provenzano*—which was fulfilled in 1594, had originally been taken as a prediction of universal immorality. Nor was the character of the district entirely changed by the building of the new temple. Such transformations are always a question of time, and every year the celebration of the 2nd of July gave rise to so much disorderly conduct that it was deemed prudent to seek out some other method of commemorating the occasion. Accordingly, towards the middle of the 17th century, the Signori Nobili, to whom was entrusted the superintendence of the festa, resolved to inaugurate annual horse-races in the Piazza del Campo, to be run between the various Contrade.

It is to this decision that we owe the modern Palio; but it is impossible to state with any certainty the precise date of its commencement. Girolamo Macchi, who occupied the

[1] See the *Tavoletta di Biccherna*, 1610–1613.

office of *Scrittor maggiore* in the Spedale della Scala during the last twenty years of the century, tells us that *questo Palio, che si corre per il 2 di luglio, viene dall' anno 1656 in qua*;[1] while some of the Contrade possess catalogues of winners of races which go back to 1651. These, however, are of more than doubtful accuracy, and bear every appearance of having been compiled in the 18th century. Moreover, our faith in them is still further shaken when we remember that no Palio could be run without the permission of the magistrates of Biccherna, who were obliged to enter a minute thereof in their official books, and that the first of such entries has reference to the race of July 1659.

In this connection we may recall the fact that in April 1655 (the year preceding that in which, according to Girolamo Macchi, the annual horse-races promoted by the Contrade had their origin) there were great rejoicings in Siena by reason of the elevation to the Papacy of Cardinal Fabio Chigi (Alexander VII.). Cannon were fired, bells rung from all the towers, and the city was illuminated. High mass was sung with extraordinary pomp, and the Veil of the Blessed Virgin, Our Advocate, together with the relics of the four Protectors of Siena, S. Ansano, S. Savino, S. Vittorio and S. Crescentio, were carried in solemn procession from the Cathedral to the Church of St Mary of Provenzano. Nor were more mundane celebrations lacking. Copious streams of wine spouted from the mouths of the wolves on the fountain in the Piazza, while the populace splashed and struggled in the basin below, as they attempted to fill their jugs and pitchers—"a merry and delightful spectacle for the bystanders." A bull-fight was once more held in the Campo, and "a fierce and terrible battle" was fought between two squadrons of ten men each, armed with swords filled with fireworks. Cars crowded with allegorical figures were dragged round the Piazza, to be subsequently attacked by "a fierce dragon of immeasurable greatness, with three horrible heads," who came through the Chiasso Largo, spouting fire through his mouths, ears, eyes and nostrils, and finally exploded and

[1] The *Zibaldoni*, of G. MACCHI are preserved among the Sienese Archives.—See *Misc. Stor. Senese*, vol. v. (1898), pp. 93–95, where some interesting extracts are printed.

disappeared, shooting fireworks in all directions. Lastly, on the 9th of May, a full month after the good news had arrived, the protracted merry-making was crowned by a Palio of Brocade of Gold, run over the same course which was used for the Palio of Mid-August, the horse of the Prince Matthias of Tuscany proving victorious. It is, however, more to our purpose to note that these festivities were opened by a contest of another kind, a Palio of Crimson Velvet, which was run in the Piazza on the 27th of April. Thirteen horses entered, and three circuits were made. There is no reason to suppose that the Contrade had anything to do with the matter, and the race, which seems to have been organized by the Commune, was won by a private individual.[1] Nevertheless, it is quite possible that the successful issue of the entertainment may have suggested to the greatly harassed *Sig^ri Nobili della festa della B.V.M. di Provenzano* an excellent method of escape from their difficulty.

This is, of course, mere conjecture; but fortunately the matter is one of minor importance, and while it would be interesting, if possible, to ascertain in what year the Contrade commenced to run their palii in the Piazza, we may turn without regret to the consideration of the manner in which those races were conducted—a point upon which we possess ample information.

When the time of the festival drew near, the two Signori Nobili, who were elected annually, presented their petition to the Governor of Siena, who, during the 17th century, was almost always one of the princes of the house of Medici. To him they set forth "the desire of the Contrade to run a palio in the Public Piazza on the day of the feast; and, to that end, they prayed his Serene Highness to be pleased to command the magistracy of Biccherna to give orders to the *Comunità delle Masse* to carry sand into the said Piazza, on the day of the festival, *sotto pena della Cattura*; and also to cause public proclamation to be made that no one should

[1] *Diario delle Cerimonie e Feste fatte in Siena nella creatione del Santiss^mo Vicario di Cristo Papa Alessandro Settimo*, published by P. A. ALESSANDRI "per le nozze Chigi-Zondadari Colonna," Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1900. It is a pamphlet of 29 pages.

venture to molest the horses during the race"; and then concluded with the formula that *di tanta grazia ne sarebbero rimasti in perpetuo obbligati.* His Highness, in order to save paper, or labour, or both, was wont to write, at the foot of the petition, *Concedesi*; and, thereafter, all further formalities became the business of the officials of Biccherna, who forthwith nominated two deputies and a starter (*mossiere*) with full authority in the premises, and sent a public crier through the city, to announce the forthcoming race; the text of such proclamation being afterwards affixed to the principal door of the Ufficio di Biccherna.

Such of the Contrade as desired to take part in the race were obliged to give notice of their intention so to do two hours before sunset (*prima delle ore 22*) on the 22nd of June, depositing 8 lire for the hire of a horse. And woe to that Contrada which sought to enter its name after the appointed hour had passed. Complaints and protests poured in from every direction, and its exclusion was almost a matter of course.

On the 29th of June, after Vespers, the selection of the horses which were to take part in the Palio was made outside the Porta Camollia.[1] A larger number of animals than were actually needed for the race were in attendance at the so-called Palazzo de' Diavoli (*Palatium Turcorum*); and their speed was tested over a course extending from that place to the little church dedicated to San Bernardino, just outside the Antiporto. The winning horse was awarded a *testone*, but was excluded from the race; and the two deputies immediately proceeded to select from the remainder a number equal to that of the Contrade which desired to compete. The animals, so chosen, were then distributed by lot—the ceremony taking place on the steps of the said church.

If any Contrada to which a horse had been assigned refused to accept it, the right of taking part in the Palio was thereby lost for ten or twelve years. If, after the horses had been distributed, any of them were injured or crippled during the *prove*, the Contrade were held responsible therefor to their proprietors; the damages being assessed by the *pubblico Stimatore del Tribunale delle Collette Universali.*

[1] GIGLI, *Diario* (edition cited), i. 378.

An animal once received could by no means be exchanged for another. In 1706, the horse of the Contrada dell' Istrice became so lame that the Istriciaioli requested to be given another in its stead. More than seven Contrade entered their protests, and although, after the most violent opposition, the Governor finally permitted an exchange to be made, on this particular occasion, he expressly stated that his action must not be regarded as creating a precedent.

Up to the beginning of the 18th century, the Contrade were allowed to try their horses in the Piazza at any hour of the day; but so greatly did they abuse their privilege, that it became almost impossible for the merchants and shopkeepers to attend to their business, and was the cause of considerable peril to those citizens whose avocations compelled them to pass through the Campo. At last the nuisance became so intolerable that, in the year 1707, the Quattro Provveditori di Biccherna decreed that *prove* should be run only twice daily, at specified hours in the morning and afternoon, and that each *prova* should be limited to three or four rounds, exception, however, being made with regard to the morning of the day on which the Palio was run.

Until 1721, the number of the Contrade which took part in the race varied from year to year, since it was a purely voluntary matter whether they entered their names or not, although too persistent an abstention was apt to lead to disqualification.

In 1693, the Contrada di Spadaforte demanded permission to compete, but the other Contrade contested its right to do so, on the ground that not only had it not been represented at any of the public festivals for many years past, but further had never heretofore taken part in the Palio. Their opposition was successful, and the Spadaforte was suppressed.[1]

[1] It has been stated, but apparently without any foundation in fact, that, on the occasion of the Palio of July 1675, a dispute arose between the *Spadaforte* and the *Lupa*, each claiming the victory; and that the former together with the men of the Contrade of the Vipera, of the Orso, of the Leone, of the Gallo and of the Quercia, raised a tumult and insulted the judges; (for which insubordination they were suppressed) (RICCARDO BROGI, *Il Palio di Siena* (Siena, 1894), p. 22).—However, of all this the public documents contain no record; while Girolamo Macchi, who has left us a fairly complete catalogue of the palii which were run in his day, makes no mention of any such event.—See the *Misc. Stor. Senese*, vol. v. (1898), p. 94.

About a quarter of a century later, the Aquila narrowly escaped a like fate, when, in August 1718, it claimed a right to run for the first time—and this, although it had held a high position among its peers more than a century earlier, and was the first of the Contrade to be ennobled, having (it is said) received that distinction at the hands of Charles V., when he visited Siena in 1536.[1] Its admission was vehemently opposed by the Onda, the Tartuca, the Pantera and the Selva, the four conterminous Contrade; for it is noticeable that, in the case of these civic divisions as in that of the Mediæval Communes, propinquity often meant hostility. The Aquila was, however, eventually recognized by the magistrates of Biccherna as a true and legitimate Contrada.

In 1702, a regulation was passed that from that date no Contrada should be permitted to take part in the Palio unless it was able to bring into the Piazza, on the day of the race, a following of at least twenty persons. On the occasion of the arrival in Siena of the Princess Beatrice Violante of Bavaria, when all the Contrade were ordered to take part in the procession which went forth from the Porta Camollia to welcome her, the Leocorno finding it impossible to obey the summons by reason of its extreme poverty, the Collegio di Balìa resolved forthwith to suppress it; and although milder counsels subsequently prevailed, the delinquent Contrada was suspended for ten years, and was even forbidden to display its banner. Nor was this its first offence, since, in the preceding year, it had been unable, for the same reason, to contribute towards the cost of a triumphal arch which was erected near the monastery of Santuccio on the arrival of Alessandro Zondadari, the newly appointed Archbishop of Siena.[2] However, in 1718, on the petition of the inhabitants of Pantaneto, the remainder of its punishment was remitted.

In those days, as at the present time, the 2nd of July found the whole population astir. All the Contrade were

[1] The Contrade Nobili are four, to wit, Oca, Nicchio, Bruco and Aquila.—Compare C. MARZOCCHI, *Nel Secolo XVI la fanciulla Virginia, etc., op. cit.*, p. 22.

[2] Compare PROVEDI, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–99.

THE PALIO OF JULY 2ND, 1717

busy with their preparations, which were often of the most elaborate description, for in the 18th century it was usual to award prizes not only to the winner of the race, but also to the Contrada or Contrade which made the most seemly appearance in the Piazza. Thus, in 1717, the Torre won the race with a horse called *Gioia*; and, in addition to the palio, the same Contrada obtained the first prize for its *comparsa*; while other prizes were bestowed upon the Onda, the Chiocciola, the Tartuca and the Giraffa, all of which had entered the Piazza with elaborately appointed cars; for, in that year, great efforts were made to render the Palio especially splendid, by reason of the presence of the above-mentioned Princess Violante of Bavaria.[1]

The prizes for the *comparse* generally consisted of silver goblets, and, when no *comparsa* was of sufficient merit to entitle its Contrada to such a reward, the silver cup was either given to that Contrada whose horse had run second in the race for the palio, or a new race was run immediately after the first, from which the winning Contrada was excluded.

At a convenient hour, the Contrade assembled before the Church of Sant' Agostino, and, on the arrival of the Governor in the Piazza, the Deputies, having received from him *buona licenza*, gave the signal for the procession to start.

The Contrade debouched from the Via del Casato, and, having made the circuit of the Piazza, waving their banners, retired, together with their cars, into the centre; thus leaving the course free. In the meantime, the *fantini*,[2] having mounted their horses, and received their whips (which were made of leather, and whereof the handles were not allowed to exceed a third of a braccio in length), moved towards the starting post. At the sound of a trumpet the rope fell, and the race commenced. That horse which, at the third circuit, first passed the judges' stand was declared the victor.

The palio was never presented to the men of the winning

[1] PROVEDI, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–110.

[2] *Fantini*, jockeys.

Contrada themselves, but to their *Protettori*; and to them only provisionally, since they were held responsible for its safe-keeping, and were obliged to restore it to the Commune, after two or three days, receiving, in its stead, a silver basin or its equivalent in money, which varied from forty to sixty scudi, according to the munificence of the Deputies appointed for the Feast of S. Maria di Provenzano. Rarely was the palio itself given as a prize to the victorious Contrada.[1]

As a rule, the victors deposited the silver basin in the church of their Contrada; but, not unfrequently, they petitioned the Governor to permit the race to be run anew, by the other Contrade, on the day after the Festival of Our Lady of August; offering as a prize the silver basin which they had themselves won. The Contrada which promoted the race naturally assumed the direction thereof, and bore all the expenses. By it were nominated the Deputies, and by it the horses were distributed in such place as suited its convenience, while the prize was increased or diminished at its pleasure. The honour of initiating these palii seems to belong to the Oca, which, having won the race of July 2nd, 1701, offered to defray the cost of another race to be run in the following month, and added a prize for the second horse.

By degrees this practice grew to be so common, that, before the end of the 18th century, the Palio of the 16th of August had become as regular an event as that of July; and finally, after the abandonment of the *Palio alla lunga*, was recognized as the principal festival of the Sienese year.

The Commune assumed the management of the August Palio in 1802.

For the rest, by reason of an accident which happened on the 2nd of July 1720, and which caused the death of two of the spectators, the regulations governing the Palio

[1] A similar custom seems to have existed at Jesi, where, on the Feast of St Florian, the *Corsa all' anello* was anually contested. The silver ring, which was given as a prize to the victor, was invariably redeemed by the Commune, in order that it might be used again in the competition of the following year.—See A. GIANANDREA, *Festa di S. Floriano, Martire, in Jesi, e Tiro a Segno colla Balestra instituito in occasione della medesima, l'anno 1453* (Ancona, G. Aureli, 1879), pp. 17–18.

were altered; and thereafter, only ten Contrade were permitted to run at one time. The new rules came into force in July 1721.[1] It may be remarked that on the banner destined for the victorious Contrada in the Palio of August is painted a picture of the Assumption, while on that which forms the prize for the race of the 2nd July is represented the *Madonna della chiesa collegiata di Provenzano.*

III

It only remains to give some account of the *comparse*, and of those *carri*, or cars, which had long ago superseded the old *macchine.* The primary object of the *macchine* was, as I have said, that of affording refuge to the players in the *Caccia di tori*; and when that form of sport was prohibited, their utility as miniature fortresses naturally came to an end. In their stead were introduced triumphal cars, which had no other scope than pageantry and display.

In the Spanish procession, such cars filled so important a place, that its usual name seems to have been the *Fiesta de los carros*; while in Florence, at least as early as the middle of the 15th century, the *edifizi* had become one of the most prominent features in the celebrations for the Festa of S. Giovanni.[2]

Of the Sienese cars many descriptions have come down to us, and it may well be doubted whether anything save her comparative poverty prevented Siena from rivalling or even surpassing her richer neighbour in splendour and ingenuity of device.[3] Let us take the Palio of 1786 as an

[1] In the foregoing pages I have availed myself to a considerable extent of an article by Sign[r] Cav. ALESSANDRO LISINI, entitled *Notizie su le Contrade di Siena*, published in the *Miscellanea Storica Senese* of 1896. This work contains several important documents illustrative of the Palio, and is accompanied by an *Elenco dei Palî corsi dalle Contrade nella Piazza del Campo dal 1692 al 1800* (signed *Al*). No reader of Italian who is interested in the subject should fail to purchase it, as it affords access to a vast amount of valuable information which it is difficult to obtain elsewhere.

[2] See D'ANCONA, *Origini del Teatro Italiano, op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 228, 244.

[3] Federigo dei Conti da Montauto, in his letter of 9th August 1581 (above referred to), says: "Se i Senesi havessero così potere come hanno accutezza e voluntà, credo non sarebber secondi ad alcun' altra nazione in questo genere di spettacoli: ma dove la spesa è debile, le cose perdono lo spirito et il nervo dell' apparenza."—See *Misc. Stor. Senese*, vol. ii. (1894), p. 73.

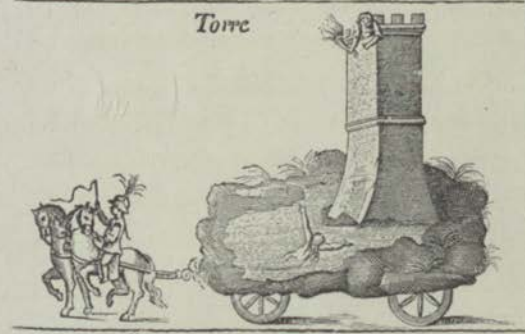
example. In that year the festivities of Mid-August were celebrated with extraordinary pomp by reason of the presence of the royal princes in the city. The Contrade vied with one another in endeavouring to make a seemly appearance in the Piazza; and we not only have a full account of their *carri* and *comparse* from the pen of one who was present on the occasion, but also—and this is almost more important—a series of contemporary prints, which enable us to form a really adequate notion of the pageant.[1]

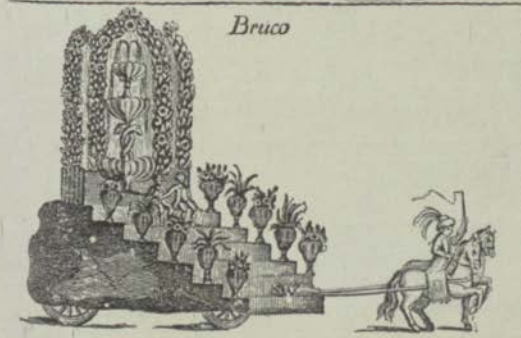
The Contrade which took part in the race were the Oca, Drago, Istrice, Bruco, Leocorno, Chiocciola, Onda, Torre, Giraffa and Tartuca.

"The first to enter the Piazza was the Contrada dell' Oca, which represented the triumph of Manlius, who, aroused by the cackling of geese, saved the Capitol from the attack of the Senonian Gauls. First, to the strains of martial music, proceeded the *fasces* and military trophies; then came a cohort of Roman soldiers, bearing in their midst the Banner of the Contrada, green, white and red, together with the Captain of the same, who represented Manlius, clad in the classical Roman garb, and who was mounted upon a magnificently caparisoned horse. The Contrada del Nicchio, which was allied to that of the Oca, united with the latter to render its *comparsa* more splendid, forming a second cohort, destined to escort the captive Senones and the Car. The Car itself, drawn by six richly decked horses, represented the Tarpeian Rock with the Capitol on its summit. Upon the battlements were to be seen two geese, with the motto ANSERES NON FEFELLERE. At the foot of the hill reposed the Tiber, and above him sat Rome, to whom Mars extended the Crown of Empire. All the members of the *comparsa* of the Contrada dell' Oca were magnificently garbed as Roman soldiers, with plumed helmets and breastplates, their skirts being green and white adorned with silver. The dress of the cohort of the Contrada del

[1] *Diario della faustissima venuta, e permanenza nella Città di Siena dei Reali Arciduchi d'Austria Ferdinando Giuseppe, Carlo Luigi, Alessandro Leopoldo, e Giuseppe Antonio, Principi di Toscana, ec. ec. ec. Con la descrizione delle Feste Pubbliche fatte dai Sinesi per così lieta occasione, con tutti i Componimenti, e Rami allusivi alle Feste medesime.* In Siena, MDCCLXXXVI. Dai Torchj di Vincenzo Pazzini Carli, e Figli.

Macchina e Carri rappresentati nella Piazza di Siena dalle Contrade nella Corsa del Palio dl' 16. Agosto 1786.





CARRI OF THE CONTRADE, 16 AUGUST, 1786

Nicchio was identical with that of their allies except that their skirts were yellow and blue, laced with gold. . . .

"From the Car the following sonnet was distributed broadcast among the spectators:

Infra il silenzio della notte oscura
Tacito il G'llo in suo pensier risolse
Di sormontar le non vegliate mura
E franco alla grand' opra il piè rivolse.
Ma noi di Giuno Ostia diletta, e pura
Noi ti svegliammo o Manlio; a te si volse
Ogni Falange, e in tua virtù sicura
Le disperse fra il sonno armi raccolse.
Pugnasti, è ver, da forte, ampia ruina
Recando ovunque all' inimico altero,
Che ancor rammenta la fatal collina;
Ma se salvasti col valor guerriero
La vacillante Libertà Latina
A noi tu devi il tuo trionfo intero.[1]

"Next, the Contrada del Drago presented itself in the Piazza, part of its company being on foot and part on horseback. They were dressed in green uniforms with red facings, shoulder-scarves and cuffs, and with yellow waistcoats. They all followed their banner, which has for its device a dragon on a green field with divers red and yellow arabesques. This troop escorted a well designed car, representing a grotto, in the mouth whereof was a wounded dragon, with the motto DEL PAR FAMOSO O VINCITORE O VINTO. Beneath the dragon were to be seen the remains of the unhappy companions of Cadmus slain by the monster. Hard by stood Cadmus himself, in classic costume, in the act of giving the death-blow to the already moribund dragon, as, in fact, he did give it, when the Car approached the balcony of the Casino;[2] where, the teeth of the dead dragon being extracted, and sown in the ground, armed men were seen to rise from the furrows, as they did in the fable.

"Although unaccompanied by a car, the *comparsa* of the Istrice was not less rich and tasteful than those of the other Contrade. It represented a troop of Swiss footsoldiers, with plumed helmets and halberds, wearing the

[1] I give this sonnet as an example of the rest. All the Contrade distributed sonnets or madrigals, conceived in a similar strain. They are duly reported in the *Diario, etc.*, cited in the preceding note.

[2] The Casino de' Nobili, whence the royalties watched the show.

striped uniforms proper to that nation; a costume to the beauty of which the multitude of colours which are united in the banner of that Contrada, greatly contributed. The said banner displays a porcupine upon a white field with beautiful arabesques in blue, red and black.

"The fourth Contrada to present itself was the Bruco. Its *comparsa* consisted of a group of gardeners, dressed in green, with yellow breeches, and shoulder-belts of flowers. Their hats were adorned with green and yellow ribbons and cords (*nastri e ciniglie*), allusive to their banner, which bears for device a caterpillar on a green field with divers yellow arabesques, relieved, here and there, with a touch of blue. This troop of gardeners escorted a car, which was drawn by six horses, . . . and which represented a pleasant garden full of flowers, with a pretty arbour approached by a flight of steps. In the highest part of the garden there were four gardeners tastefully apparelled, and on the stairway a number of musicians, playing on wind and string instruments, who, during the circuit of the Piazza, discoursed sweet symphonies.

"Even the Contrada del Leocorno, which was the fifth in order, contrived to present a decent appearance, in spite of its poverty and the limited number of its inhabitants.[1] Its *comparsa* represented a troop of Europeans newly returned from America. They were clad in gold-coloured uniforms, with white facings, cuffs, waistcoats and small-clothes; those being the same colours as are seen on their banner, which displays a Unicorn on a white field with gold arabesques. They led with them a number of savages in chains, and a unicorn which was supposed to have been captured in the New World." In the *Anacreontica*, which they distributed, a battle with the aborigines was described.

Veggiamo in fuga volgersi,
Quell' inimico armento:
Noi li siamo alle costole
E ne uccidiamo un cento.
Schiavo con altri fecesi
Nel memorabil giorno,
Il Duce lor, che impavido
Montava un LIOCORNO. . . .

[1] Compare p. 220 *supra*.

"The sixth to enter the Piazza was the Contrada della Chiocciola, which represented the triumph of Charles V. of Lorraine, after the liberation of Vienna from the Turks. The members of the *comparsa* were richly clad in red uniforms, with yellow cuffs, waistcoats and breeches, and blue shoulder-belts laced with gold; these colours corresponding with those of their banner, which displays a snail upon a red field, with yellow arabesques and blue trimmings. Preceded by a military band, a numerous company, on foot and horseback, escorted a magnificent triumphal car, whereon, in the post of honour, was the Captain of the Contrada, who represented Charles V. With him were other generals, and below were certain captive Turks, whose dejected aspects expressed their profound grief and humiliation.

"After the Contrada della Chiocciola came that of the Onda, which had undertaken to represent the celebrated fable of Acis. The numerous *comparsa* of this Contrada was preceded by bassoons, hautboys and bugles. Their uniforms were blue, with white cuffs, facings, waistcoats and breeches, laced with silver; thus corresponding with the colours of their banner, which bears as its device Waves on a white ground with blue arabesques. In the midst of this company was a beautiful car drawn by six horses superbly caparisoned. It represented a cliff overlooking the sea, together with part of the adjacent plain. On the highest point of the cliff, beside a gnarled and ancient tree trunk, stood the Cyclops Polyphemus; while lower down was to be seen Galatea, with various nymphs, bewailing the untimely fate of her lover." Among the various *composizioni* distributed by this Contrada was one which describes the death and resurrection of Acis, who, clothed on with immortality as a river god, predicts for himself a higher immortality, and a renown

> Ancor più glorioso,
> Quando su le Sanesi alme Contrade
> Nella futura etade
> Dall' onda mia l' ONDA prendendo il nome
> N' andrà cinta le chiome
> Di vincitrice palma
> Ne' giuochi equestri, e l' offrirà devota,
> Qual grata Figlia in dono,
> De' gran REGI TOSCANI al piede al Trono.

"Eighth in order, came the Contrada della Torre, which represented the old story of Hero and Leander. First marched a numerous troop of horsemen, accompanied by a band of military music, and all dressed in red uniforms with white facings and cuffs. Their banner displayed an Elephant carrying a Tower, upon a red ground, with a few white trimmings. The *comparsa* terminated with a car drawn by four horses, which represented the beach of Sestos, with a tower, from the summit of which Hero, with a burning torch in her hand, directed the course of the amorous Leander, who was seen swimming towards her, through the waves.

"After the Torre came the Contrada della Giraffa, which, for the novelty and beauty of its *rappresentanza*, was unsurpassed by any of its rivals. The members of its *comparsa* were superbly dressed in Moorish costume, and were preceded by a band of musical instruments peculiar to that nation. The car, which was drawn by four horses, represented a spacious enclosure surrounded by iron railings, wherein was a great giraffe, of the size of nature as described by Signor de Buffon.[1] Its hide was white and it was spotted with red, like the banner of the Contrada, which bears for its crest a Giraffe on a red field, with innumerable white trimmings and arabesques.

"The last to enter the Piazza was the Contrada della Tartuca, with a car modelled on the system of the Chinese philosophers. It consisted of four huge tortoises, placed at its four angles, on whose backs stood four elephants, which, in their turn, supported a square platform, in the centre whereof stood a globe (*Mappamondo*), and, in the corners, four statues representing the cities of Jerusalem, Nancy, Vienna and Prague. When this car reached the Casino, the globe opened and divided into four parts, disclosing, in the midst thereof, a fair obelisk, which, on each of its faces, represented the four principal cities of Tuscany, with the respective inscriptions: FIRENZE LA BELLA, SIENA L' ANTICA, PISA LA FLORIDA, LIVORNO IL POTENTE. At its angles there were four statues, representing Science, Justice, Religion and

[1] The publication of the first edition of the first fifteen volumes of BUFFON'S *Histoire Naturelle* had been completed in 1767.

COSTUMES OF THE CONTRADE, 16 AUGUST, 1786

Agriculture. This car was accompanied by a numerous company richly clad in yellow uniforms, with black facings, cuffs and breeches. Their banner displayed a Tortoise on a yellow field, with black arabesques, relieved here and there by a touch of blue."

The allegorical meaning of the car is best explained by the sonnet which was distributed by those who accompanied it.

Son quelle pur l' alte Città, che dome
Furon dagli Avi vittoriosi un giorno;
Queste son quelle a cui l' Austriaco nome
In dolcissimo tuono echeggia intorno.[b]
Di Giove il messaggier le pinte chiome
Scuote, e di Etruria accenna il bel soggiorno.
Astrea quì siede, e le bell' Arti, oh come!
Rendono il loco alteramente adorno.
In altra parte in maestoso aspetto
La Religion si sta. Quindi la testa
Alza il commercio dall' algoso letto.
La Mole dunque spaziosa è questa,
Che a noi del nostro ben mostra l' oggetto,
E dell' antiche imprese idea ci desta.

[a] Gerusalemme, e Nancy. [b] Vienna, e Praga.

Besides the eight cars already described, there was a ninth, which had headed the procession. The seven Contrade which did not compete had united to produce a car symbolical of the universal enthusiasm with which the royal princes were welcomed. There was to be seen a figure representing the Arbia reposing at the foot of the pleasant hills of Siena. On their summit stood the Temple of Public Felicity, and their slopes were covered with flowers, which shepherds were weaving into votive garlands. Upon this car were borne the banners of the seven Contrade and the palio destined for the winner.

The race was won by the Drago. Nor is it without interest to note that, in the *Corso dei barberi*, of the day before, the crimson velvet banner,[1] instead of being carried off by some prince or noble, went to a certain Signor Bianchi

[1] "Un Drappo di velluto cremisi con bordo d'oro," or, as our diarist calls it, "la ricca bandiera di velluto cremisi."

of Massa Marittima. Indeed, our diarist treats the event as of very small importance, merely mentioning that twelve horses were entered and that the royal archdukes watched the finish from the balcony of their palace. Already, at the close of the 18th century, the *Palio alla tonda* had well nigh usurped the place of the *Palio alla lunga.*

CHAPTER THE SECOND

THE MODERN PALIO

As if some maiden dead for centuries past,
  Drawn from the dusty couch whereon she lay,
And slowly gathering life, should rise at last,
  Warm with the breathing beauty of to-day;
As if some planet lost for many an age
  Could light the world with its forgotten gleam,
And take through heaven its shining pilgrimage
  To its old place; so dawns on us this Dream.

Miss GERTRUDE FORD.

Narrano che Pietro Leopoldo, pregato dai Senesi a favore del Manicomio, rispondesse: "Chiudete le porte, e il manicomio è bell' e fatto." Ma oh che bel manicomio da fare invidia ai savi!

Prof. GIUSEPPE RONDONI.

SIENA slumbers amid her olive groves and vineyards, her fierce hates and fiercer loves forgotten long ago. Yet, twice a year, she wakens into life again; and the Faery Prince, who has power to snap the charm that binds her, is none other than the Palio. At its coming, the mediæval city is herself once more; the old passions blaze forth anew—a little softened, perhaps, by their modern setting, but, none the less for that, the same; and the rivalry between the Contrade recalls the clamorous years of the free Commune.

For, in modern Siena, the *patria* is no longer the city but the Contrada; and between hostile Contrade the strife is as bitter and the enmity as unappeasable as ever it was between the cities of the Balsana and the Lily, in the days of Farinata and of Manfred.

In his inimitable work, *Il Palio di Siena*,[1] Signor Riccardo Brogi, by whose wit and wisdom I would not thank-

[1] It is a description of th modern Palio. For its origin and history, the serious student must seek elsewhere.

lessly profit, relates that a certain *panterino* (to wit, an inhabitant of the Contrada della Pantera), being laid up by a very painful complaint, and desiring to express to a sympathizing visitor how intolerable were his sufferings, declared, with perfect seriousness, that he would be moved to pity if God should inflict the like even upon a *Selvaiolo*, that is to say upon an inhabitant of the Selva—the Contrada which is conterminous with the Pantera and its most jealous rival —a statement which is thoroughly typical of those animosities, and which, I think, clearly indicates their depth and malignity.

Quite recently—the story was told me a few days ago by my friend the Rev. P. A. Alessandri, himself the "Curato" referred to—a strong partisan of the Oca lay at death's door. His women-folk urged him to send for the Curato, who happened also to be the Vicario of the Contrada della Torre, between which and the Contrada dell' Oca there has long been bitter enmity.[1] "*Come?*" exclaimed the dying man. "*Verrebbe quello della Torraccia?*"

Of old the Sienese and the Florentines fought not only with the sword and with the lance, in the hills of Chianti and in the valley of the Elsa, but with *rappresaglie* and intrigues; with slanders, gibes and insults; in prose and in verse; in novels, in legends and in history;[2] and so, to-day, the Contrade contend not only with *nerbate* in the Piazza, but with bribes and menaces. They speak evil things of their rivals, and lose no opportunity of doing them despite and injury.

Thus it is told how, in the early eighties, there being a feud between the Tartuca and the Chiocciola, certain persons belonging to the former Contrada went by night to the church of the latter, and emptied a sack full of snails on the steps of the sacred edifice, with the result that, on the following

[1] In his *Story of Siena and San Gimignano*, Mr. E. G. GARDNER says (p. 201): "In this present year of grace, 1902, on the day in which the popolani of the Oca celebrated the feast of their glorious patroness, there was a solemn reconciliation between them and the rival Contrada of the Torre, the healing of the famous feud of many years' standing. I am writing too soon after the event to know whether the peace has proved durable!"

Those who know Siena know that such reconciliations do not prove durable. They last, as the Contradaioli say, "till the sand is in the Piazza." The reader has no reason to fear that the old picturesque feud is dead.—Compare Note I., at the end of the chapter.

[2] See my "*Ensamples*" *of Fra Filippo, etc., op. cit.*, p. 28.

morning, the whole façade was covered with clinging molluscs and with slimy tracks. The insult, of course, gained point and venom from the fact that the snail is, as the name of the Contrada itself implies, the device of the Chiocciola. There had, it is said, been treason. One of the *Protettori* of the Chiocciola had given assistance to its enemy, and, in like manner, the portals of its church were beslimed by its own emblem. To my mind, I confess, the insolent jest possesses a distinctly mediæval flavour, and differs rather in degree than in kind from the methods of the 13th century, when, for example, in 1233, *Florentini fecerunt exercitum contra Senenses . . . et appropinquaverunt civitatem cum machinis, et projecerunt asinos in civitatem.*[1]

Some half dozen years ago, to the unbounded delight of the Ocaioli, the Torre, which had made quite certain of winning the Palio, lost the race by a mischance. The youth of Fontebranda hurried up the steep hill to S. Domenico, and, having overpowered the sacristan, rang the great bell of that church with a vigour which cannot have failed to impress upon their disappointed rivals how keenly their discomfiture was appreciated. The following year the Torraioli had their revenge; for the Oca, having won the Palio of July, thought to repeat their victory in August, and might have done so, had not the *fantini* of the Bruco and of the Torre flung themselves in front of the *fantino* of the Oca, and utterly spoilt his start by a perfect hail of blows. Then, the race being over, the women of the Torre demonstrated their joy by waving banners in the Piazza.

In this connection it is perhaps worth mentioning that neither the Bruco nor the Torre had the smallest chance of winning themselves. It was purely a question of paying off old scores; and although, as a matter of fact, the Tartuca carried off the palio, the Torraioli were quite contented. The *nerbo*, which had done such good work in the hands of their *fantino*, was presented, as a suitable token of respect, to the priest of their Contrada; and he, having already more than one of such souvenirs of satisfactorily executed vengeance, kindly offered it to me. It hangs on the wall of my study, as

[1] *Ptolemæi Lucensis Annales, ad annum.*—Compare p. 20 *supra*.

I write. Later on, I saw the helmet of the *fantino*, and the numerous dents which adorned its superficies adequately demonstrated that the *nerbate* which were given upon that occasion were entirely reciprocal.

It is said to be extremely rare for a girl to find a lover in a hostile Contrada; and, should she marry such an one, husband and wife will separate on the day of the race; the woman returning to her father's house, there to exult or weep over the Palio which has been won or lost.

Reader, if these things seem incredible, and if you wish to ascertain for yourself whether this enthusiasm and these animosities really exist, you can very easily do so. Go down into Fontebranda, a day or two before the Palio, and talk with some good Ocaiolo. Lead him to speak of the Contrada della Torre, and you will hear strange things. Even the names of its streets condemn it. What self-respecting person would live in a Via Pulceto? Cleanliness, honesty and righteousness are unknown among its inhabitants. In a word, they are Torraioli, and their very fountain, at the foot of the Piazza del Mercato, is a *fonte putrido*. Then, when you have heard enough, adjourn to some wine-shop in the Via Salicotto, and enquire into the character of the Ocaioli. I think you will be satisfied.

But it is time to turn to the race itself.

On the evening of the 12th of August, the Piazza presents a scene of unusual animation. In preparation for to-morrow's *prove*, cartloads of sand are being emptied and scattered on the paved roadway, which forms its circumference, while in front of the shops which occupy the basements of the surrounding palaces, workmen are erecting wooden seats, which rise one above another like steps, until they reach more than half way to the balconies overhead. Primitive enough in structure, they are, nevertheless, sufficiently strong to bear the weight of the crowd with which they will be packed on the day of the race, and give to the ancient Piazza all the appearance of a vast amphitheatre.[1]

[1] The best seats are those in front of the Casino de' Nobili. Here, for a few francs (the prices are fixed), chairs can be obtained which are duly numbered and which will be reserved

THE MODERN PALIO

On the morning of the 13th, the good people of Siena are early astir, and by eight or nine o'clock, the *pianata*[1] is thronged with persons awaiting the official *prove*, which must be run before the horses can be assigned to the ten Contrade which, whether by right or by good fortune, are destined to take part in the race.[2] As the minutes slip by, the crowd increases, and, taking advantage of the shade cast by the Torre del Mangia, extends itself across the Piazza in a wedge-shaped mass. Ever and anon, a horse is led past and disappears into one of the gateways of the Palazzo Pubblico —a sorry looking animal enough, as a general rule, and smacking more of the lineage of Rosinante than of Bucephalus; for, as I think I have hinted before, the Palio of Siena is an institution but little calculated to afford encouragement to the raising of thoroughbred stock.

When all the horses have arrived—to the number of between fifteen and twenty—three or four of them are mounted by jockeys (*fantini*), in the pay of the Commune, and ridden towards the Costarella; whence, at a given signal, they start to race round the Piazza.

In the *prove*, no more than in the Palio itself, are the animals saddled. The *fantini* must ride bare-backed or not at all; and the spectacle is often a sufficiently amusing one. The old horses, who know the Piazza, follow the track without giving much trouble; but those which have had no experience of the game, on reaching the dangerous corner opposite the Palazzo del Governo, generally display an uncontrollable desire to pursue their wild career in a straight line, and, in spite of the frantic efforts of their riders, rush headlong down the Via San Martino.[3] Here, in front of the shops, between that street and the Cappella

for the hirer. Elsewhere, it is practically a question of first come first served: two or three people are crowded into a space which would not be excessive for one, and the foreigner, unless he is an expert at bargaining, will pay dearly for poor accommodation.

[1] The Sienese term that part of the Piazza del Campo which is immediately in front of the Palazzo Pubblico *la pianata*.

[2] In each of the two Palii, seven Contrade run because it is their turn to do so (*d'obbligo*), and three because their names have been drawn to take part in the race (*a sorte*).

[3] From this incident, repeated annually, the phrase *È andato a San Martino* has come to be used metaphorically among the Sienese. For example, it might be applied to a man who had taken a wrong train. Indeed, a short residence in the city should suffice to convince the visitor how greatly the Palio has coloured the language of the common people.

di Piazza, is erected a hoarding which is faced with heavy mattresses; and rarely is it that their existence fails to be justified by the event, for at this spot there is nearly always a fall or two. More than one of the *fantini* generally part company with their horses and go to *spianare materasse*, as the phrase is. Sometimes, too, a horse will bolt up the Via del Casato, flinging his rider on the hard ground, amid the laughter, yells, jeers and derisive comments of the spectators, who, with charming impartiality, distribute their abuse about equally between the unruly horse and his luckless rider.

When, at last, all the horses have been tried in batches of three or four at a time, the Captains of the Contrade retire to discuss their respective merits or demerits, and to select such ten of them as may appear best fitted to take part in the Palio. The object, of course, is to obtain ten animals of as nearly equal speed as possible, and therefore, if, in the *prove* which have just been run, any horse should have shown himself manifestly superior to his companions, he will promptly be discarded.

Finally, after more or less discussion, the necessary ten are agreed upon, and are forthwith decorated with large numbers painted upon their hind quarters.

Two urns—made of glass, in order that no suspicion may arise concerning the *bona fides* of so delicate and important an operation—stand upon a table just within the central entrance of the Palazzo. In one of these are deposited the names of the competing Contrade; in the other, numbers from 1 to 10, corresponding to the numbers on the horses. Each name and each number has been previously enclosed in a small wooden box of cylindrical shape, not unlike a needlecase; and the two urns, which are so constructed as to be capable of receiving a rotatory motion by the turning of a handle, are made to perform several rapid revolutions, thus thoroughly mixing their contents.

The moment is a solemn one. The Captains of the Contrade, and such of the crowd as can squeeze themselves into the narrow hall-way, press around the table. Expectation is visible on every face, and only the 14th century saints of Bartolo di Fredi look down unmoved.

And here let us pause. The theme is too lofty for my grovelling Northern wits. It is a tale which a Sienese should tell; and I will avail myself once more of the vivid pen of Signor Riccardo Brogi.

"A number is extracted, and one of the Communal servants calls in a loud voice: *Quattro.*—A murmur runs through the crowd. It is a well-known horse.—Last year, it won the Palio for the Chiocciola.

"'*Dio landi!* It's a no account beast, that,' exclaims a vendor of fish, as he lights his pipe. The old fellow wants it for the Torre, and then, ye Saints! he would sing another tune.

"The name of a Contrada is drawn. There is a moment of intolerable suspense. At last the servitor shouts: *Oca!* And immediately the cry of *Oca! Oca!* is taken up and repeated by a hundred voices. The horse, which is, in fact, the pick of the whole lot, or, to adopt the expression which is generally used upon these occasions, a *cavallo bono*, is led off in triumph by the Ocaioli, who proceed through the streets towards their Contrada, shouting *Oca! Oca!* until they are hoarse.—As a matter of fact, what they really shout is *Oa! Oa!* for the Sienese, albeit they speak the purest Tuscan, never sound a hard *c* if they can avoid it.[1]

"The boys fling their hats into the air. The Captain, as self-satisfied and important as if the satisfactory result of the draw were due exclusively to his own personal merits, turns his steps also in the direction of Fontebranda, where the horse, which has arrived before him, is now reposing in a comfortable stall, provided with excellent forage, and tended with loving care. Certainly, he has never fared better in his life; but then it is he, poor beast, who must win the Palio. There is, it is true, another almost equally good; but that matters nothing, the Ocaioli will bethink them to provide a *fantino* of the best, and one especially

[1] "Veramente si grida solo *Oa! Oa!* perchè i Senesi . . . mangiano i *c* come le ciliegie."—Such are the words used by Signor Brogi; and I beg to state, once for all, that I cannot pretend to translate him literally. To attempt to do so would be an injustice both to him and to myself.

I very strongly recommend those who appreciate good Italian, and who would enjoy the humours of the Palio from a Sienese standpoint, to purchase his work. Laughter they will not lack.

gifted in the use of the *nerbo*; for, this year, the race is likely to be fiercely contested.

"'Look,' cry the women, as the horse passes. 'How sweet he is! Pretty dear, if only he could speak!' (*Badate come è carino! Gli manca il parlare, piccinino!*)

"But their vocabulary fails them. They cannot find words strong enough to sing his praises.

"If, however, as often happens, the fickle goddess had sent them a bad horse—a *cavallaccio*—his reception would have been very different. All available invectives and every kind of abuse would have been heaped upon him and upon his unhappy proprietor. Nor would that have been the worst of the matter. He would possibly have been kicked and cudgelled, and, perhaps, even left in his stable forgotten and unfed, until such time as his owner, seeing that Sant' Antonio was helpless to succour his *protégé*, should have had recourse to the authorities. In Siena there is no Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.[1]

On the evening of the 13th there is a *prova*. This is succeeded by another on the following morning, and so on, twice a day, until the 16th. But none of the six *prove* which precede the Palio need any description. They are all very much alike, being simply a series of trial races, run by ten horses ridden by *fantini*, wherein sometimes one Contrada is victorious and sometimes another. Only the *prova generale*, which takes place on the evening of the 15th, is run with any degree of solemnity. For, for it the Municipality offers a prize.

On the morning of the Feast of the Assumption, high mass is sung in the Duomo, where the boards, which usually cover so large a part of the pavement, have been removed.[2]

[1] That this custom of treating a bad horse with disrespect is one of considerable antiquity, is proved by the following incident related by Girolamo Macchi, under the year 1711:—

"A dì 2 luglio 1711 in giovedi si corse il solito palio in Piazza con le Contrade in n°. di 16, e fu per mostra il Baccino d'argento, e la più corriera e brava di tutte fu la Contrada del Bruco che vense il Palio; e invece del suddetto Baccino, dai Signori della Festa gli fu dato n°. 60 Talleri; e la Contrada della Tartuca, che hebbe gattivo cavallo, lo messero in barroccio con un pagliaccio e lenzuola, e ce lo posero a diacere legato e ci era il medico manescalco e dottore Asino. E la Contrada della Lupa erano da n°. 50 uomini a cavallo e fu bella festa."

[2] The pavement seems to have been thus protected for more than two centuries. Thus RICHARD LASSELS, in *The Voyage of Italy*, tells us that "the *Pauement* is the best in the

A PROVA

From the columns hang the banners of the Contrade, and the face of the Madonna delle Grazie is disclosed to view. A vast crowd throngs the sacred edifice, and Our Lady of Mid-August is worshipped as of old.

That night the Sienese do not sleep. Instead, they prepare for the Palio with a banquet, and, until the dawn of day, celebrate the Festival with wine and wassail; even as, centuries ago, King Olaf and his Vikings drank "*Skoal to the Lord!*" And let it not be thought that this drinking is slight or perfunctory. The Queen of Heaven is not so dishonoured.

It is true that, like the poet Wordsworth, most Italians have "a miserably low standard of intoxication"; but no such slur can be cast upon the Sienese. They drink, and drink deeply, as becomes the men whose forefathers prepared for the battle of Montaperto with a breakfast of roast meats, washed down with *perfetti e solenni vini e bene vantaggiati.* Indeed, all the consolation which I can offer to the total abstainer in this regard, is to be found in the fact that, in the latter half of the 14th century, Siena, with a smaller population, consumed nearly two and a half million litres of wine more than she does to-day.[1] However, the supply is still perfectly adequate for the seemly observance of the Festival of Our Lady of Mid-August.

And now, at last, the east is whitening into dawn, and the day of the Palio has begun. All is excitement and bustle. There is no time to eat. The hours are passed in going from house to house, through the streets, through the shops, and through the piazze, in taking counsel together, and in stimulating the hate which exists between Contrada

world; and indeed too good to be trode on; hence they couer a great part of it with bords hansomely layd together, yet easy to be taken vp, to show strangers the beauty of it" (i. 237).

[1] The calculation is based upon the returns of 1879, since which time the population has, of course, increased. — See C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, *op. cit.*, p. 67. In order that I may not be suspected of overestimating the capacity of the modern *Contradaioli* for liquid refreshment, I beg to refer the reader to the following statement of Signor BROGI (p. 53): *Le Contrade si preparano al Palio con un banchetto. Tutta la notte si beve . . . e come si beve!*

and Contrada; while overhead the Campanone[1] roars forth its summons to all the country round.

In the afternoon, the whole population is afoot,—men, women and children, old and young, rich and poor,—their numbers being augmented every minute by the vast crowd of country folk who are pouring into the city through all its gates.

About two o'clock, a deafening beating of drums begins in each Contrada. Knights in armour, accompanied by pages with flowing locks and clad in bravery of silk and velvet, are seen passing to and fro. It seems as if the years had rolled backwards, and the long dead warriors of the old Republic had left their graves in San Francesco and the Duomo to gladden the world yet once again with sheen of satin and flash of burnished mail.

Destrier e corsiere,
Masnate e bandiere
Coraccie e lamiere
Vedrai rimutare.

And now, it is high time for the visitor to decide whither he will go to see the ceremonies which precede the race.

Of course, if he is behind the scenes and is very certain which Contrada will be victorious, he had better take advantage of that knowledge. But let him not be so mistaken as to imagine that the horse which has won the majority or even all of the *prove* will necessarily win the Palio. Hitherto the *fantini* have ridden without their *nerbi*. There have been treaties and alliances made, which may render it impossible for the best horse to win. For this is no common race. It is warfare. And, if the victory cannot be obtained by speed and strength, it must either be purchased or stolen.

As for me, I shall go down into Fontebranda; for the good Ocaioli always want to win if they can. They are a stalwart folk, and worthy descendants of the men who fought in the forefront of the battle on the day of Camollia,[2] and

[1] The great bell of the Mangia tower, which is rung on civic festivals and days of national rejoicing.

[2] "Per la Porta Fonteblanda spedirono le Squadre del Massaini, e del Palmieri, una

PAGE OF THE CONTRADA DELL' ISTRICE

who, some quarter of a century later, being thrust forth from the city on the night of the 27th of July 1552, marched round the walls to join Misser Piccolomini at San Lazzaro, and, a few hours afterwards, burned down the Porta Romana, in spite of a sharp fusillade from some fifty musketeers who stood on guard there—thus commencing the revolt against the Spaniards.[1] Nor are their methods less strenuous to-day. With them the end justifies the means; and if any efforts of theirs can accomplish it, the Palio will be brought to Fontebranda.

The Church of the Contrada dell' Oca, in the Via Benincasa, is none other than the lower chapel in the house of St Catherine; and hither is led the horse which is about to compete for the Palio to receive the priestly benediction.

Does the idea shock you? It need not do so. The service is a reverent one enough, and the people pray earnestly to God and to "the sweetest of the saints" to grant them that which is very near their hearts, the victory of their beloved Contrada.[2]

The priest, in surplice and stole, waits at the foot of the high altar. Hard-by stand the members of the *comparsa*, gorgeous in their mediæval costumes; while, here and there, kneeling figures, in postures of earnest supplication, testify that the ceremony about to take place is no empty formality.

Above the panelling which runs around the sacred edifice, are set numerous shields, painted with the coats of arms of the *Protettori* of the Contrada—an office once of

banda d'Uomini di Monticchiello, *e una grossa Compagnia di Giovani Fontebrandesi, sempre nell' armi coraggiosi e intrepidi.*"—PECCI, *Memorie, etc., op. cit.*, ii. 221.

[1] SOZZINI, *Diario*, pp. 76-78.

[2] The faith of the people in the power of their patron Saint is real enough. In 1898, when the horse of the Drago was killed in one of the *prove*, a youthful seminarist was heard to declare that, in his opinion, the death of the unfortunate animal was due to the intervention of St Catherine, who was doubtless aware that the Drago had always been hostile to the Oca.

The Saint, moreover, is expected to live up to his or her responsibilities, and Signor Brogi relates how a Contrada, which suspected its celestial patron of having accepted a bribe from its rival, in the shape of a *grosso voto d'argento*, removed the sacred image from its place in the church, and flung it into one of the public wells. The hint appears to have been taken, for the Contrada in question won the next Palio. The penitent Saint was then fished out and reinstated in his whilom dignity.

great importance, but which, in these days, is bestowed upon any gentleman who is willing to pay a small annual subscription.

And now the horse is led into the house of God, accompanied by the *fantino*, who stands erect with his helmet on his head, like one of the grandees of ancient Spain in the presence of his Sovereign.

The prayers are short, and, of course, in Latin. Translated, they run as follows:

Our help is in the name of the Lord;
Who made heaven and earth.
Lord, hear my prayer;
And let my cry come unto thee.
The Lord be with you;
And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

O God, our refuge and strength, who art the author of all godliness; be ready, we beseech thee, to hear the devout prayers of thy Church; and grant that those things which we ask faithfully we may obtain effectually; through Christ Our Lord. *Amen.*

Let us pray.

Almighty and everlasting God, who didst preserve thy glorious Saint Anthony, though tried by manifold temptations, unharmed amid the tempests of this world; grant, we beseech thee, that we, thy servants, may profit by his bright example, and, by his merits and intercession, may be saved from the dangers of this present life; through Christ Our Lord. *Amen.*

Let us pray.

Let this animal receive thy blessing, O Lord, whereby it may be preserved in body, and freed from every harm, by the intercession of the blessed Anthony; through Christ Our Lord. *Amen.*

Then the priest sprinkles holy water over the horse, and the people leave the church.

Of course, there are some persons who regard the belief in supernatural interference with the affairs of life as "eminently irreligious."[1] To them this service may seem childish, or worse; but not, I think, more so than many of the petitions embodied in our own Book of Common

[1] Compare BUCKLE's *History of Civilization in England* (London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1867), vol. iii. p. 365.

Prayer. And indeed, if God be "the only giver of all victory," and, in truth, a father, to whom we may make known all our needs, both spiritual and temporal, then there is no word to be said against it.

To my mind, I confess, the irreverence, if any there be, is to be found in the mental attitude of those foreigners—English and Americans, for the most part—who, entering God's house, make no attempt to understand the prayers offered up, and, prejudging the whole ceremony, regard it merely as a curious instance of puerile superstition, forming part of the afternoon's amusement.

In our crude youth, many of us, probably, prayed for very similar blessings. We are wiser now; but are we any the better for our wisdom?

The benediction being over, the various members of the *comparsa* betake themselves, in ordered array, to the Piazza di Giordano Bruno, in front of the Church of Sant' Agostino.

This spot, besides being the official rendezvous of the Contrade, whence they will pass through the Via del Casato into the Piazza del Campo, is the place established by custom for the so-called *partiti*. Here the magnates of the Contrada which expects to win the Palio make verbal stipulations with the *fantini* of friendly Contrade, and bargain as to the sums to be paid in the event of victory—sums which not unfrequently run to some thousands of francs;—here, by the power of gold, a horse which has shown itself of the swiftest, in the preparatory races, is suddenly transformed, as if by magic, into as sorry a jade as that whereon Petruchio came to claim his bride, unable to crawl round the Piazza at more than a snail's pace.—Here, contracts are entered into touching the price to be paid for each blow of the *nerbo* well and truly administered to the *fantino* of a hostile Contrada, and this often with no hope of victory, but merely to destroy the chances of an enemy.—Here ancient treaties are ratified and new alliances made, over the excellent wine of Beppe dell' Arco.—Here, in a word, it is arranged who shall win the Palio.

Meanwhile, the whole population is pouring into the Piazza del Campo, and filling it, from end to end, with motion and with colour.

Minute by minute the crowd increases, until it seems, at last, as if even that vast amphitheatre could hold no more.

The windows and balconies are gay with tapestry and hangings of a thousand hues; and there, looking down from their ancient palaces upon the seething throng beneath, may be seen fair and gracious figures, whose mien and carriage make us think regretfully of the dear dead ladies of long ago;—of the Lady Forteguerra, with her following of damsels dressed in violet; of the Lady Piccolomini and her company clad in rose-coloured satin, and of the girls in white who were led by the Lady Livia Fausta, singing that song in honour of France, which Blaise de Montluc regretted so greatly that he had not heard; of those twenty-two ladies whose incomparable loveliness was hymned by Eurialo Morani Ascolano; of Onorata Saracini, with her great grey eyes and golden hair; of her blond and gracious namesake, that other Onorata, whom Fabio Petrucci loved; and last, of the unhappy Pia, whose piteous *ricordati di me*

Comes tender as a hurt bird's note

across the centuries, and moves to tears to-day.

Nor need we confine our attention to the high-born ladies. Rank holds no prerogative in the Court of Beauty. There are lovely women among the common people too. Let us descend into the vast concave of the Campo, and seek out the pretty Becchina, whom reckless, spendthrift Cecco Angiolieri sung; fierce, black-browed, shrill-voiced Betta, with her dagger, and the *bella Salicottina*, whose love the great Pandolfo bought so dearly. Perhaps, under one of those wide, flapping hats which all the country women wear, we may catch a glimpse of the delicious bride Fortini saw, walking with her lover-husband in that pleasant wood, where he had dreamed away a summer's afternoon; or of that other, even fairer yet, *bella quanto un sole, ancora che villana fusse*,

GROUP OF CONTADINE, SHEWING THE HATS WORN IN THE SENESE

with whom he journeyed so merrily to Florence, almost four hundred years ago.[1]

Past and present are so closely interwoven in Siena that it is hard to sever them; and of this I am quite certain, that the more thoroughly we can recall the vanished years, the more we shall enjoy the Palio.

But it is time to return to the modern crowd.

Did you ever lie upon your back in the woods and watch the shimmer of the sunlight through the quivering leaves?

Did you ever see a field of wheat, besprinkled with poppies and ox-eyed daisies, swaying wave-like in the wind?

Did you ever look into a kaleidoscope?

If so, and if your imagination is strong enough to combine all of the impressions so received, you will have some idea of what the Piazza of Siena looks like on the evening of the 16th of August, when every foot of its broad surface is thronged with an expectant multitude. Colour there is in abundance. But that is not all. That which especially strikes the eye is the great straw hats worn by the *contadine*, combined with the perpetual and unwearied waving of fans—fans of all sizes and of every hue. The effect is absolutely unique. It is a scene which I cannot describe. Only by the three questions which I have asked above can I hope to convey to my readers any idea of that wonderful sight;

[1] The charm and beauty of the Sienese women is proverbial. Even the enemies of their city praised them. Thus ANTONIO CAMMELLI (1440–1502) sings:

Che dirai tu delle donne da Siena?
Che ne dirò? che le fur fatte in cielo:
Acconce, sconce, in cuffia, in treccia, in velo
Formose sono, e la città n'è piena.
Niuna di costor non par terrena.
Se tornasser gli Dei fra 'l caldo e il gelo
Apollo lassarebbe il carro e Delo,
E Giove la sua patria alta e serena.
Queste tutte hanno latte e sangue il viso;
Neri gli occhi di lor, candidi i denti,
Dolce 'l sguardo, il parlare, e dolce 'l riso:
Le trecce paion fili d'or lucenti:
Se Ganimede fu bello o Narciso
Al par di lor parrebbon lumi spenti.
E simili presenti
Per lor disgrazia son qua giù concessi
In man di quei Sanesi porci bessi.

unless, indeed, it may be likened to a parterre of gorgeous flowers, hovered over by a thousand butterflies.

But while we have been talking time has flown. Hark! the first gun is fired, and the *Carabinieri* on horseback are clearing the course. There is no ill-temper and no jostling, for an Italian crowd is as courteous and obliging as is the individual Italian; and soon the circular track runs clear and bare, like a broad ribbon, encompassing the huge shallow basin of the Piazza.

Then a second gun is heard, and, entering from the Via del Casato, the Contrade appear, one by one, splendid with the many-hued costumes of their various *comparse*.

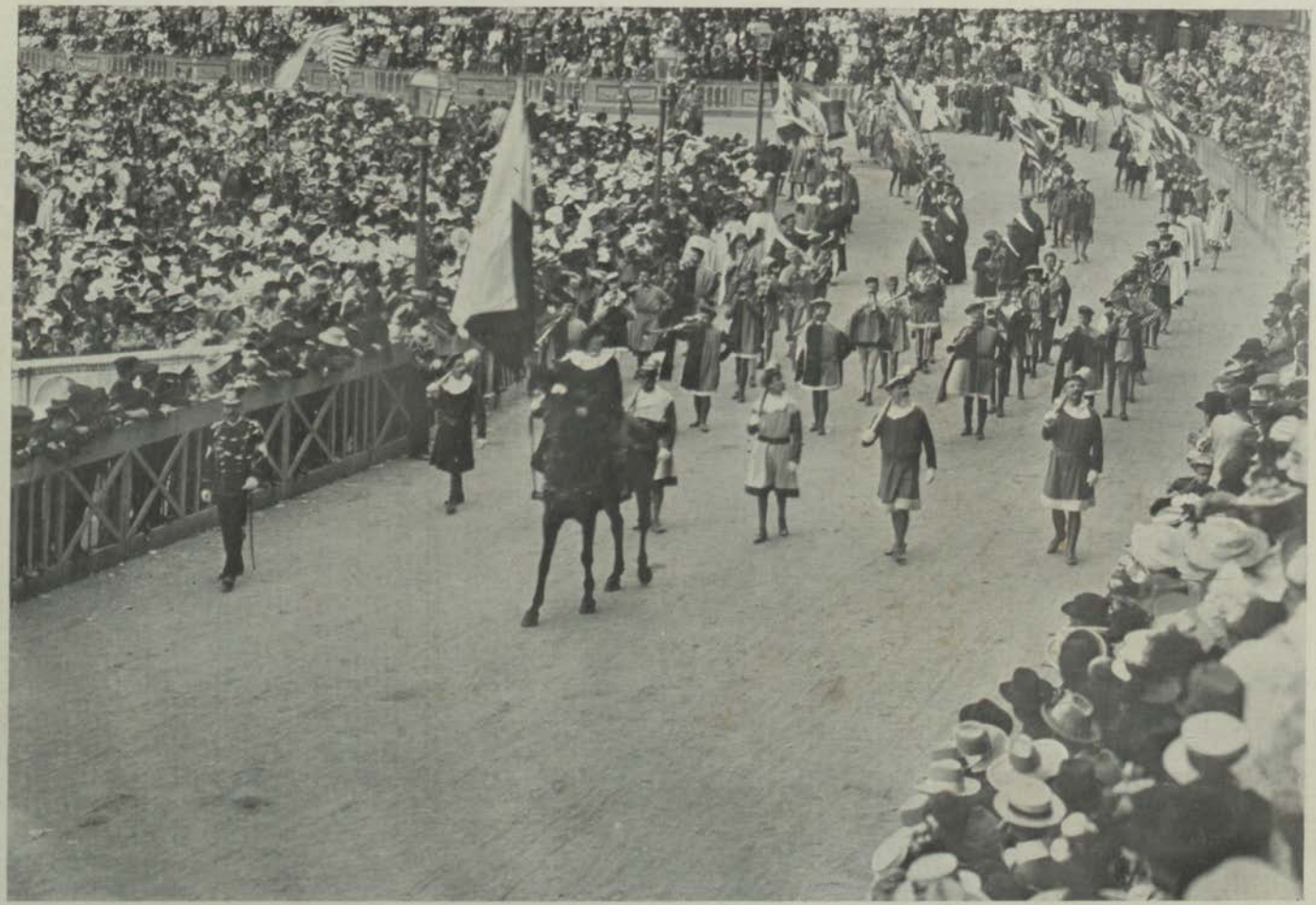
First comes the standard-bearer of the Commune, richly clad and gallantly mounted; the great black and white banner of Siena flouting the breeze as proudly as it did of yore when more than ten score towns and cities owed fealty to the old Republic.

Next march the trumpeters in the livery of the Palazzo, with plumes in their caps, and *alle trombe i paventi di Ermisino divisati a nero e bianco*, as has been the custom, if we may believe the chroniclers, ever since the days of Count Bandinello.[1]

Then follow the *comparse* of the ten Contrade which are to compete for the palio; each *comparsa* being composed of a *Capitano* or *Duce*, of two *Alfieri*, of five pages, of a drummer, of the *fantino* on horseback, and of a *barbaresco*, who leads the horse which is to take part in the race.

As each *comparsa* in turn enters the Piazza, the Alfieri display, to the roll of the drum, their two banners, gay with various colours, and ornamented with the crest of their Contrada. These are manœuvred with extraordinary agility and grace. The Alfieri cause them to revolve about their necks, pass them between their legs, and whirl them around their bodies in a thousand fantastic ways; ever and anon throwing them into the air and catching them again; and, through all these complicated movements, manage to keep them displayed and fluttering.

[1] Tommasi, i. 121.



THE PROCESSION

This *sbandierata* continues during the whole of the procession, and forms one of the most picturesque sights which it has ever been my lot to witness, the entire circuit of the Piazza being filled with waving banners, now sweeping gracefully along the ground, and now rushing upward thirty feet in air.

In Siena there is a kind of school for instruction in this art, where novices may be initiated into all the secrets of the business.

Immediately after the first ten Contrade, comes the *carroccio* drawn by four horses and decorated with the municipal oriflamme, with the banners of all the Contrade, and with the palio, *ornato secondo l'antica foggia, da consegnarsi in prèmio alla Contrada vincitrice*; for, in these days, the palio itself is retained; the silver basin, which surmounts it, being returned to the Commune.

Lastly, the *comparse* of the seven Contrade which do not take part in the race make the circuit of the Piazza, with the same pomp and circumstance as did the other ten.[1]

And now, the question arises, whether or not I shall describe the *comparsa* of each individual Contrada. It seems the proper thing to do, but it would occupy several pages, besides giving me a good deal of trouble; while I doubt if it would particularly interest the reader, who has, probably, already heard more than enough of such matters in connection with the Palio of 1786. If he is in Siena, he can see the thing for himself. If he is elsewhere, I don't believe that he will care a rap to be acquainted with the fact that the colours of the Contrada dell' Oca are red, white and green, and that it displays upon its banner a goose surmounted by the royal crown, and decorated with the cross of Savoy; or that the crest of the Torre is an elephant with a tower on his back, and that its colours are blood red with white and blue stripes. Moreover, a description of that sort

[1] I have described the procession as it is upon ordinary occasions. Sometimes it is more elaborate. In August 1898, for example, the cortège represented faithfully a popular festival of the 15th century, the costumes being reproduced from contemporary documents and designs. Of the procession in 1887, when the King and Queen visited Siena, a full account will be found in the work of Signor Brogi. In his *Storia e costumi delle Contrade di Siena* (Firenze, 1845), HERCOLANI says that the car which appears in the procession is intended to represent the *carroccio* taken from the Florentines at Montaperto. Compare p. 57 *supra*.

conveys nothing to the mind unless one states the relative proportions of the various colours, and the exact size and direction of the stripes; and that would waste far too much time.

Suffice it then to say that it would be difficult to name a colour or shade which is not represented in one or other of the *comparse*, and that an average rainbow would seem a hueless and pallid thing beside the scene in the Piazza of Siena on the evening of the Palio.

The great clock in the Torre del Mangia strikes seven. Two stout ropes are stretched across the track close to the Costarella, of which one is long enough to entirely obstruct the course,[1] while the other is somewhat shorter, leaving a gap of, perhaps, a couple of yards in width, through which the horses and their riders may enter. Then, when they are all between the two ropes, the longer one will, at a given signal, be permitted to fall, by means of an ingenious piece of mechanism called the *verrocchio*; and a start, as equal as possible under the circumstances, will be afforded to the several competitors.

A drum sounds, and the ten *fantini* mount their horses and issue forth from the Corte del Potestà. But how different is their appearance now from that which they presented during the procession! Then they were "gorgeous as the sun at midsummer," clothed on with samite and with gold. Now, all their bravery is discarded in favour of coarse canvas doublets, decorated on the back with the emblems of their several Contrade, and of trousers of the same humble material. Now, instead of glittering helmets crowned with nodding plumes, which, so lately, we admired,

[1] This is the *teso canape* of Alfieri's sonnet.

> Oh quai due snelli corridori alati
> Venir io veggio impazienti, alteri
> Al carcer, donde più che stral leggeri
> Poi voleran da gara saettati.
> Eccoli al teso canape schierati. . . .

It seems to correspond exactly enough with the *calx* or *alba linea* of the Roman Circus. —See SMITH'S *Dict. of Antiquities*, s.v. "Circus."

As to Alfieri's sonnets on the Palio, compare A. PROFESSIONE, *op. cit.*, in the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* for 1899.

they wear plain metal head-pieces, painted with the colours of their Contrade—ugly enough, it is true, but affording an adequate protection against the *nerbate* which will so soon assail their wearers. And look! Each man holds in his hand the famous *nerbo*—grasped, be it understood, not where, with paternal forethought, the municipal authorities have attached a string, intended to be wrapped about the wrist, but by the thin end, in order that the blows dealt may not lack in effectiveness and force.

And here, I must perforce indulge in a digression if I would stand well with the ladies. I know that for them the number of blows exchanged between the jockeys matters nothing. A *fantino* with an eye more or less is an affair of infinitesimal importance. He is only a man. It is the fear lest the poor dear horses should suffer which wrings their tender hearts, and may rob the race of half its enjoyment. In fact, their mental attitude is very much that of the little girl, in one of the old *Punch* pictures, who is standing before a painting of the martyrs thrown to the wild beasts in the Coliseum, and bitterly complaining that "there is one poor lion who hasn't a Christian to eat." I can, however, assure them that, in spite of the *nerbate*, there have been horses which loved the Palio, and, in a measure, shared in the general enthusiasm.

Among these was the celebrated *Stornino*, whose name, some quarter of a century ago, was a word to conjure with in Siena. For, had he not won innumerable races? And did he not enter into the spirit of the sport as keenly as any Contradaiolo of them all? He was a small white horse, the property of a country *curato*, and generally as well behaved and docile a beast as you would wish to find. But when the time of the Palio drew near, he changed his habits and manifested extreme excitement and uneasiness. He ate little and at irregular intervals, refused to be ridden, and became fretful and hard to handle. Nor did he recover his wonted equanimity until such time as he was led into the Piazza. Then he realized that the long-sighed-for moment was at hand, and by every equine gesture displayed his satisfaction and delight.

PALIO AND PONTE

It is a pretty story and a true one, being vouched for by no less a man than the author of the *Nuova Guida.*[1]

The horses move toward the starting post. The signal is given. The rope falls; and they spring forward under a perfect hail of blows—blows, be it remembered, which are administered not by their own riders to stimulate their efforts, but by other *fantini*, anxious to retard their progress. And this, notwithstanding Article X of the regulations governing the race, which prohibits the jockeys *percuotersi fino a che, data la mossa, non saranno arrivati alla Fonte Gaia.* Sometimes—so little is this rule regarded—they take time by the forelock to the extent of fiercely attacking an adversary even before the signal for the start is given and the rope has fallen.

"Hold on!" cried the *fantino* of the Oca, in August 1898, to the *fantino* of the Bruco, who had commenced a premature assault. "Hold on! Wait till we've started." "Not I," replied the other, who had a *cavallaccio* of the worst. "If I don't hit you now, I'll never get a chance to."

And so the race begins.

Words fail me to describe the scene which follows. "That human ocean"—the expression is Signor Brogi's—"gives vent to a yell, so loud and so prolonged that it would be safe to wager that it can be heard for a mile around the city.

"It is a fearful din; a veritable crack of doom. . . .

"Men and women scream; leap into the air; shout encouragement to the competitors; curse the laggards; invoke the Saints, especially S. Antonio, calling upon them to guide the horse of their particular Contrada to victory and to break the neck of the horse of the Contrada which they hate. The air is rent with the howls of a crowd beside itself with excitement, compared to which the blare of the trumpets and the shout of the people before Jericho must have been a whisper. Verily, if noise could shatter them, the palaces of Siena would have toppled long ago.

"The most fanatical actually lose their voices with shout

[1] E. A. BRIGIDI, *Le Contrade*, Siena, 1875.

ing, and, no longer able to speak, gesticulate like men possessed, and stamp upon the ground. . . .

"In the midst of all this babel, the horses string out in a long line, and the *fantini*, even when they know that they have no further hope of victory, strike out furiously with their *nerbi*, slashing and cutting at their neighbours, as if their lives depended upon the vigour of their blows."

Not so many years ago, the jockeys were not confined to the use of the *nerbo* alone, but were permitted also to seize their opponents and to drag them off their horses. Then, often enough, two *fantini*, in a close, if unfraternal embrace, would fall together and fight out their battle on the ground, while their horses continued their wild career, with the result that occasionally one of them would succeed in winning the palio by his own unaided efforts.[1]

In this connection a story is told—whether it be legend or fact I do not know—of a small and ancient horse, which had run in so many palii that it knew every foot of the ground and every trick of the game, but which was unable to keep up with the others when weighted with a rider. To obviate this difficulty, the Contrada which received him constructed a bridle and reins of cardboard, carefully fashioned to look like leather, and directed their *fantino* to fall off as early in the race as possible. This he did, and the old horse carried off the prize alone; all efforts to seize and stop him being rendered futile by the fragile character of his head-gear, which, of course, broke to pieces at the slightest pull.

Formerly, behind the mattresses (which, as I have already explained, skirt the lower side of the track between the Via San Martino and the Cappella) it was customary to erect a stand, the occupants of the front seat of which were able to

[1] R. BROGI, *op. cit.*, p. 85.—At an earlier period, it would appear that such a victory would have been impossible. In the *Palio alla lunga* of 1492, the horse of Cesare Borgia had won bare-backed, the jockey having flung himself off on purpose; and the Deputies refused to award him the prize—See p. 88 *supra*.—While in the *Zibaldoni* of GIROLAMO MACCHI we read:

"CIVIETTA, 1664.—Il 2 luglio, cioè dato che fu la mossa, cascò il fantino della Lupa e il cavallo, era il primo, attese a correre e si mantenne primo, e perchè quello della Civietta era il secondo fu ordinato dal Serenissimo Principe Mattias, fu ordinato, darsi a questa Contrada; perchè il Palio fu risoluto lo venca il fantino e no il cavallo."

rest their elbows upon the top of the said mattresses. Here, in 1864, a curious incident occurred. The Montone and the Torre were well ahead of the ruck; and the latter was gaining. As they rounded the so-called *voltata di S. Martino*, the abruptness of the turn, of course, sent them close under the mattresses; and there, the Torre attempting to take the lead, the *fantino* of the Montone naturally began to use his *nerbo* with vigour and precision. But, fortunately for the former, immediately above their heads sat a good lady whose sympathies were entirely with the Torre; and she, leaning forward, caught the jockey of the Montone by his helmet, adjuring him not to smite. The unexpected check dismounted him, and in his fall he brought his rival down as well. The two horses finished the race alone, that of the Torre being foremost—a fact whereof sufficient evidence is to be found in the lists of the winners of the Palio, preserved in the archives of the various Contrade; since, in most of these, under the date of August 1864, we may read the significant words: "*Torre, rubato.*"

Memorable, too, among palii was the race of July 2nd, 1788, which was run by seven Contrade only, since the Giraffa and the Pantera were so determined that the Lupa, which had a *cavallo bono*, should not win, that they willingly sacrificed their own chances of victory to prevent their enemy from even starting. First, they held him back with a tempest of *nerbate*, and then, as if that were not sufficient, all three *fantini* descended from their horses, and fought with such fury in the middle of the track that they had to be separated by the soldiers; while the Chiocciola, which had been looked upon as a rank outsider, carried off the prize.

And now the gun has been fired for the last time, and the race is lost and won.

In a moment the track is filled with the people of the victorious Contrada. They crawl under or vault over the barriers; they rush wildly forward from every part of the Piazza, and, at the risk of being trampled under foot by such of the horses as have not yet been pulled up, fling themselves

upon their *fantino.* They embrace him; they kiss him; they struggle to clasp his hand; they raise him upon their shoulders, and, with deafening shouts of exultation, bear him to the judges' stand, where hangs the coveted palio, around which are already waving all their banners, mingled with those of the allied Contrade which have come to do honour to their triumph.

"This enthusiasm," says La Farina, "enables us to understand how a victor in the Olympic Games could be deemed worthy of statues and of temples, of the songs of the Greek maidens, of the adoration of the whole of Greece, and of the odes of Pindar, worthy of Zeus alone. . . . In this mediæval Sienese festival still lives the vivacity, the warmth, the energy, which made us great in art and in civilization, which set a Cathedral in every little town, and which reared those many public and private monuments, in whose presence the foreigner still stands speechless with wonder and with delight."[1]

At last, the silken palio, surmounted by its silver basin, is lowered.

A hundred hands are held out to receive it, and a fresh roar of triumph breaks forth from the delighted crowd.

Preceded by the drummers, and followed by the Alfieri with their flags, the glorious proof and fruit of victory is borne to the Church of Santa Maria di Provenzano, where thanks are rendered to Our Lady, and where the *fantino* and his horse are blessed a second time, while the sacred edifice is filled with waving banners, and resounds to delirious cries of joy and exultation.[2]

And so, Our Lady of Provenzano having been duly honoured, the triumphal procession departs for its own Contrada, to render thanks once more; and this time to its own especial Saint, in the church where a few hours before the horse

[1] See the *Storia e costumi delle Contrade di Siena* del Conte ANTONIO HERCOLANI, Firenze, 1845.

[2] This visit to the Church of Santa Maria di Provenzano, although undoubtedly as much a part of the ceremonies proper to the day as even the benediction of the horse (see AQUARONE, *Dante in Siena*, edition of 1889, p. 35), is often omitted; and that too on the 2nd of July—the Festa of that Madonna—since the victors, in their excitement, not unfrequently carry the palio direct to their own church, to give laud and honour to their own Saint, entirely forgetting the claims of Our Lady.

and *fantino* received their first benediction. Thus, if it be the Oca that is victorious, the palio will be carried to the house

> That saw Saint Catherine bodily,
> Felt on its floors her sweet feet move
> And the live light of fiery ov
> Burn on her beautiful strange face,

and will there be left upon the high altar close to Neroccio's exquisite statue of the Saint. Nor do I think that she will be troubled thereby. She was too full of kindliest human sympathy for that; while, if the story which the Pisans tell of her be true,[1] she may even rejoice that the good people of Fontebranda have brought home their trophy to her shrine without injury to life or limb; for surely, if, amidst the joys of Paradise, she still remembers this world of sorrow and of sin, the home of her childhood, the sheer street and the pungent smell of its tanneries must be nearer to her heart than the alien city, for all its magnificent sweep of quay and broader and more level ways.

The Contrada is full of men with *fiaschi* in their hands, for the Captain has given orders that all comers shall drink at his expense, and wine flows like water. Merriment reigns supreme, and the *fantino* is the hero of the hour. And, in fact, the poor devil deserves some compensation for all that he has gone through. Very rarely is he a member of the Contrada for which he rides, and generally not even a Sienese. His employers fully realize that he is not stirred by the same patriotism as they are, and that for him the only considerations are pecuniary ones. Accordingly, he has been practically imprisoned ever since he entered the service of the Contrada, and has never, under any circumstances, been allowed to go about alone. Otherwise attempts would have been made to corrupt him, and he would probably have sold the race for a larger sum than he could have hoped to make by winning it. Like the *Condottieri* of the 14th century, who were hired by the Commune to fight their battles for them, he has been the subject of profound distrust; but, like them, in the hour of

[1] See p. 134 *supra.*

PAGE OF THE CONTRADA DEL BRUCO

victory, he becomes a hero—nay, almost a demi-god. Nor are the women less willing than the men to show their appreciation of his merits. Kisses he may have in abundance from pretty girls who, on any other occasion, would repulse his advances with scorn; and perhaps, if he be so minded, even dearer favours yet.

On the morning following the race, all the members of the *comparsa*, dressed as they were at the time of the procession, and accompanied by the horse and the *fantino*, carry the palio through the city—avoiding, however, those Contrade with which they have old scores to settle. They perform *sbandierate* under the windows of the *Signori Protettori*, and distribute sonnets in praise of their Contrada and of its *invitto campione*, to whom are imputed a world of noble qualities.[1] As to him, poor fellow, he does not seem much puffed up by the praises so lavishly showered upon him, and that, often enough, for the best of reasons, that he is quite incapable of reading them.

Everywhere money and drinks are given to the youthful hero, until, before evening, he has acquired a little hoard which should suffice to support him for the best part of a year, and a headache which will keep him in bed for several days.

Lastly, a week or two after the race, a banquet is given by the victorious Contrada. Tables are set out in one of the streets, which is ornamented for the occasion with banners and with lights;[2] while from the windows are hung tapestry or brightly coloured tablecloths or spotless linen. Sometimes, too, the horse himself, decked with gala trappings, and exquisitely groomed, graces the festivities with his presence, standing at the foot of the table, before an improvized manger filled to overflowing with the most succulent and enticing forage; and always, if it be the Oca which has won the Palio, one or more live geese form a prominent feature in the decorations, irresistibly recalling to our minds the days of the

[1] See Note IV., at the end of the chapter.

[2] As to the mediæval custom of closing up the streets and using them for feasting, compare G. Conti, *Fatti e Aneddoti, etc., op. cit.*, p. 7.

free Communes, when the Signoria of Siena kept a wolf in the *Sala del Mappamondo*, and when the Marzocco of Florence was typified by *uno giovane e bello leone*, which was confined *nella corte del palagio de' Priori legato con una catena.*[1] The geese, too, are tied in some manner, and I imagine that, of all those who are present, they are probably the least gratified by the proceedings of the evening.

The people feast till midnight. All is mirth and jollity; and even if, by accident, some too patriotic Ocaiolo should drink a glass of wine more than is good for him, it does no harm whatever; for the wine of Chianti is no breeder of enmity or strife, but rather tends to fill him who uses it with love and charity to all men.

Such, Reader, is the Palio; and, in reviewing its curious mixture of religious rites and purely secular enthusiasms, it is well not only to remember its origin, but also to bear in mind the fact that, in the words of a modern writer, "Italy is above all lands the home of human nature—simple, unabashed even in the presence of its Maker," and that "perhaps we do not sufficiently account for the domesticity of the people of the Latin countries in their every-day-open church. They are quite at their ease there, whereas we are as unhappy in ours as if we were at an evening party; we wear all our good clothes, and they come into the houses of their Father in any rag they chance to have on, and are at home there."[2] And, strange as their tumultuous method of giving praise to God and to His Mother must necessarily seem to our colder Northern temperaments, they are quite as likely to be right as we are. Indeed, I have little doubt that most of us would be as much scandalized as Michal was, should we behold another David "leaping and dancing before the Lord." For us, perfunctory praises offered up in the words of a rigid and monotonous liturgy are more respectable, and therefore, of course, more pleasing to the Almighty.

[1] GIGLI, *Diario*, ii. 260 (edition cited); *Misc. Stor. Senese*, vol. i. (1893), pp. 28, 29; G. VILLANI, viii. 62; *Diario d' Anonimo Fiorentino*, vol. vi. of the *Documenti di Storia italiana* (cited *supra*), p. 453; etc. etc. Compare also p. 13 note 2 *supra*.

[2] W. D. HOWELLS, *Tuscan Cities* (The English Library edition, 1891), p. 107.

NOTES

I

In connection with the perdurable character of the enmity between the hostile Contrade, the following poem is interesting. It is attributed to Girolamo Gigli, and was written in August 1713, on the occasion of a solemn peace made between the Torre and the Onda. The two Contrade had been at open warfare; a Torraiolo had been stabbed, and his assailant had taken refuge in the Church of S. Salvatore. The friends of the wounded man attempted to break into the sacred edifice; and the Illmo. Sig. Auditore, together with the Governor of the Fortress, interfered to make peace. A solemn contract of friendship was drawn and attested by a notary; and in memory of the event the Onda changed the colours of its banner from black and white, to blue and white.

The poem in question bears the following title:—

Il Sindaco d' Asciano e quello di Sovicelle ritrovandosi in piazza in tempo che si faceva pace fra le due contrade Onda e Torre.

Asciano parla:	Sovicille risponde:
La Torre in piazza e l' Onda?	Messer sì.
fan pace fra di loro?	o questo no.
se ne roga il notaro?	o questo sì.
dunque è pace solenne?	o questo no.
Si cambiano l' insegne?	o questo sì.
dunque son fatti amici?	o questo no.
è pace di Marcone?	o questo sì.
è affronto a' protettori?	o questo no.
Il Prence lo comanda?	o questo sì.
temeranno la fune?	o questo no.
hanno più braccio che cuore?	o questo sì.
Havranno l' armi in mano?	o questo no.
in culo tutti i paceri?	o questo sì.
si daranno sul capo?	o sì o no.

(See the *Miscellanea Senese di Erudizione Storica*, Anno I. Marzo-Aprile 1903, pp. 62–64.)

It is curious to note that the Torre and the Onda are still at enmity.

II

The Seventeen Contrade

Terzo di Città.

1. Contrada della Tartuca—The Ward of the Tortoise.
2. Contrada della Chiocciola—The Ward of the Snail.
3. Contrada della Selva—The Ward of the Wood.
4. Contrada dell' Aquila—The Ward of the Eagle.
5. Contrada dell' Onda—The Ward of the Wave.
6. Contrada della Pantera—The Ward of the Panther.

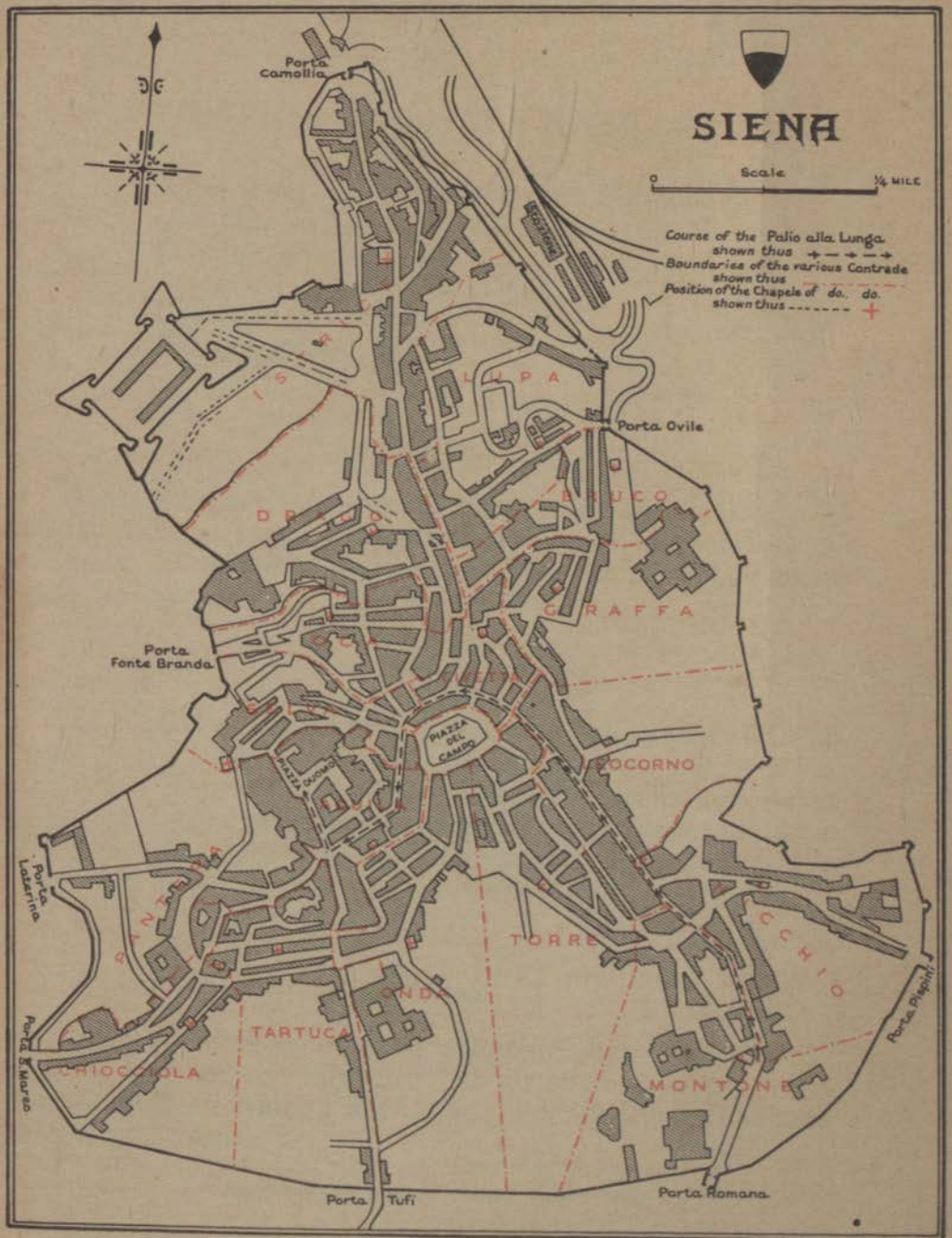
Terzo di San Martino.

7. Contrada di Val di Montone—The Ward of Val di Montone.
8. Contrada della Torre—The Ward of the Tower.
9. Contrada del Leocorno—The Ward of the Unicorn.
10. Contrada della Civetta—The Ward of the Owl.
11. Contrada del Nicchio—The Ward of the Shell.

Terzo di Camollia.

12. Contrada del Drago—The Ward of the Dragon.
13. Contrada dell' Oca—The Ward of the Goose.
14. Contrada della Giraffa—The Ward of the Giraffe.
15. Contrada del Bruco—The Ward of the Caterpillar.
16. Contrada della Lupa—The Ward of the She-wolf.
17. Contrada dell' Istrice—The Ward of the Porcupine.

[Such of the *Contrade* as are called by the names of animals have adopted those animals as their emblems. Thus the *Lupa* bears as its cognizance a she-wolf suckling the Twins, the *Civetta* an owl, and the *Chiocciola* a snail. The *Selva* displays upon its banner a rhinoceros beneath a tree, the *Onda* a dolphin, the *Val di Montone* a ram rampant, and the *Torre* an elephant with a tower on its back. Of all the Contrade, the *Nicchio* alone is not represented by any living thing, assuming as its device a shell surmounted by the Grand-ducal crown.]


SIENA
Scale
¼ MILE
Course of the Palio alla Lunga shown thus
Boundaries of the various Contrade shown thus
Position of the Chapels of do. do. shown thus
Porta Camollia
Porta Ovile
Porta Fonte Branda
Porta Laterina
Porta S. Marco
Porta Tufi
Porta Romana
Porta Pispini
PIAZZA DEL CAMPO
PIAZZA DUOMO
GRAFFA
TARTUCA
TORRE
MONTONE
Methuen & Co

III

Benedictio Equorum et Animalium

Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini;
Qui fecit cœlum et terram.
Domine, exaudi orationem meam;
Et clamor meus ad te veniat.
Dominus vobiscum;
Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Deus refugium nostrum et virtus: adesto piis Ecclesiæ tuæ precibus. Auctor ipse pietatis, et præsta, ut quod fideliter petimus, efficaciter consequamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. *Amen.*

Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui gloriosum beatum Antonium variis tentationibus probatum, inter mundi hujus turbines illæsum abire fecisti; concede famulis tuis, ut et præclaro ipsius proficiamus exemplo, et a præsentis vitæ periculis ejus, meritis et intercessione liberemur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. *Amen.*

Oremus.

Bene ✠ dictionem tuam, Domine, hæc animalia accipiant, qua corpore salventur; et ab omni malo per intercessionem beati Antonii liberentur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. *Amen.*

(*Deinde aspergatur aqua benedicta.*)

IV

XVI AGOSTO MDCCCXCVIII

AL MERITO E VALORE IN ACERBA ETÀ INCOMPARABILI

DEL FANTINO

ANGELO VOLPI COGNOMINATO BELLINO

CUI

LA CONTRADA DELLA TARTUCA

DEVE L'ONORE E L'ALLEGREZZA INSPERATI

DELLA 34ª VITTORIA

NELLA CORSA ALLA TONDA

TRIBUTO DI GRATITUDINE E DI LODE.

SONETTO

Nuovo trionfo nell' equestre agone
onor, letizia alla Tartuca accresce;
ed ai fervidi evviva il tuo si mesce
nome, o invitto di noi gentil campione.

Grecia di lauro profondea corone
agli Olimpici eroi: l' alta or ne cresce
fama l' età, fama che all' ardue è sprone
opre onde ignavia e codardia rincresce.

Festoso a Te dei nostri cori il grido
che l' affetto appalesa e l' esultanza,
fabbro per noi d'onor, concordi alziamo.

Sempre memore Tu, sempre a noi fido
quel plauso renderai ch' oggi a Te diamo
di novelle vittorie alma speranza.

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